

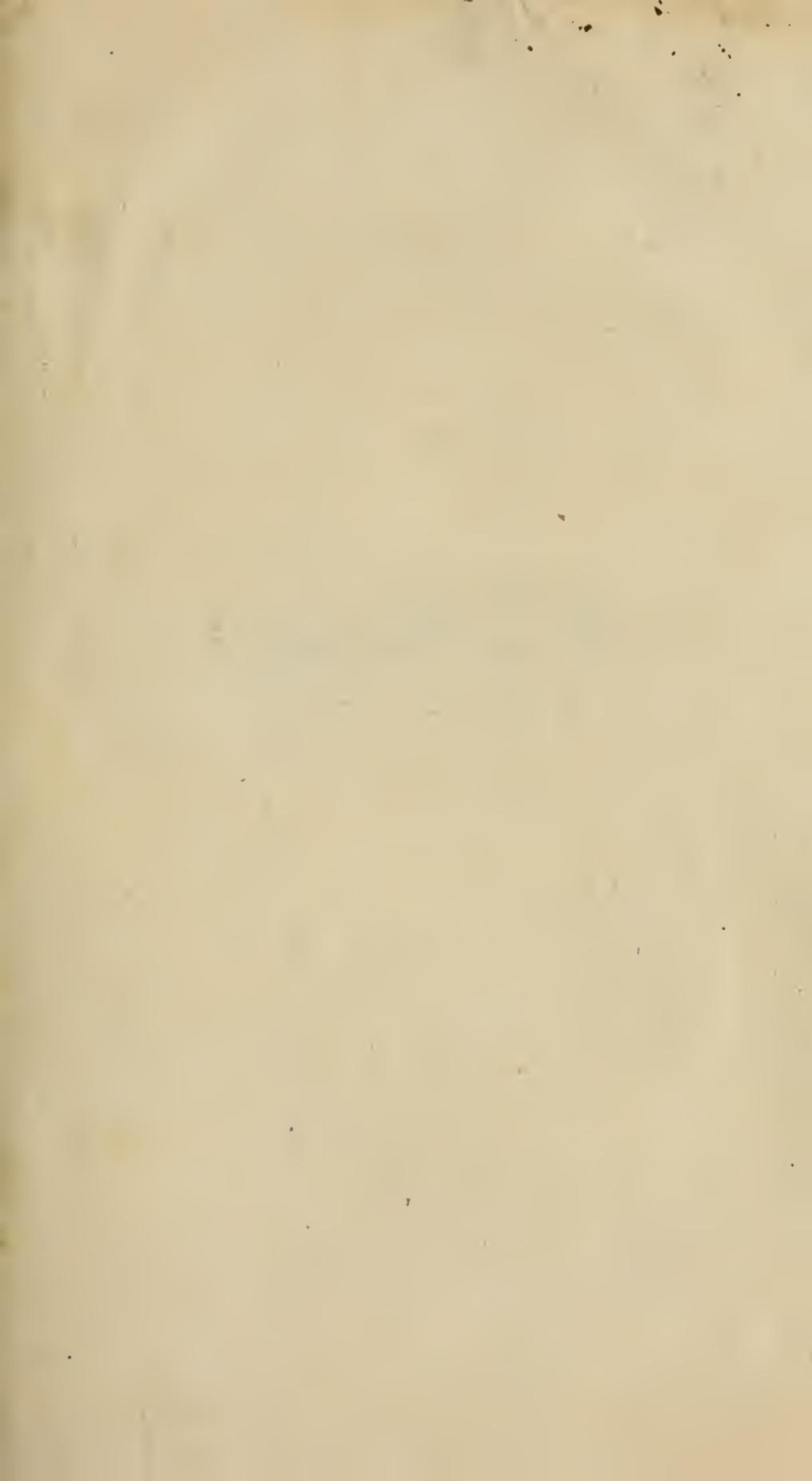


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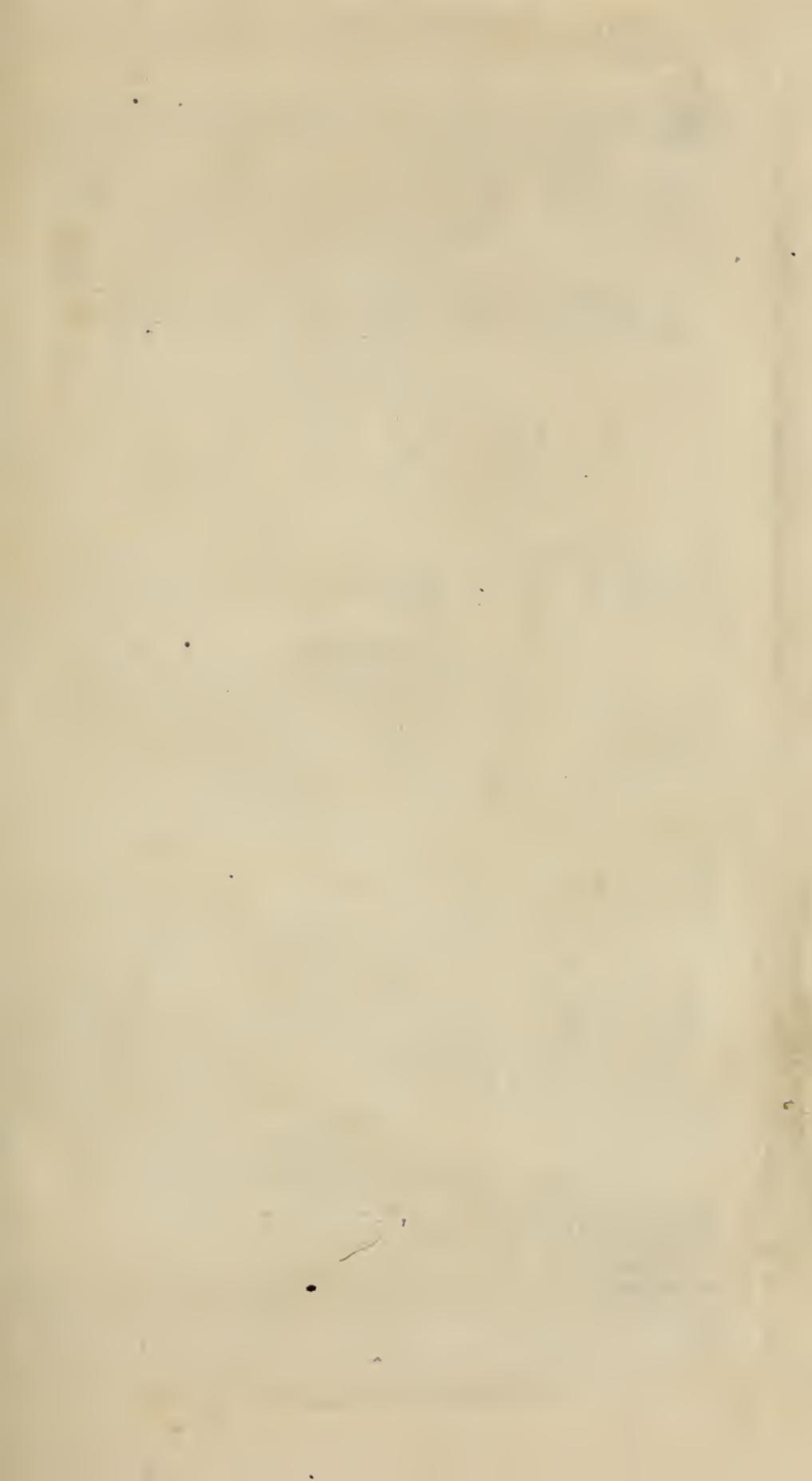


QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY  
AT KINGSTON

KINGSTON ONTARIO CANADA









M. Vanderbank inv.

Ger. Vander Gucht Sculp.

A  
LETTER  
TO  
CLEOMENES  
KING of  
SPARTA,  
FROM  
Eustace Budgell, Esq;  
Being An  
ANSWER,  
Paragraph by Paragraph,  
To His *Spartan* Majesty's ROYAL  
EPISTLE Published some Time  
since in the *Daily Courant*.

---

With some Account of the MANNERS and  
GOVERNMENT of the Antient GREEKS  
and ROMANS, and Political REFLECTIONS  
thereon.

---

The SECOND EDITION.

---

L O N D O N :

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by the Booksellers of *London* and *Westminster*.  
1731. [Price Bound 7 s. 6 d.]

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## THE \*INTRODUCTION.

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*The following Sheets contain an Answer to the Celebrated Letter of the mighty CLEOMENES.*



T is no great Secret from what Hand that Letter came, and what Endeavours were used at its first Appearance to make it pass for a Master-piece; tho', since the Town has declared against it, I find those very People who were once its greatest Admirers, are not quite so loud in their Encomiums.

---

\* It is so necessary my Readers should peruse *This* before the *Letter to Cleomenes*, that I have ventured to give it a Name after the Manner of the Ancients: *Theophrastus* calls the Discourse before his Excellent *Characters*, *Προώμιον*; in *Latin*, *Proæmium*; in *English*, *The Introduction*.

I should have answer'd this Letter sooner, but for some *particular Reasons*, which it is neither *necessary* my Readers should know, nor might be *safe* for me to tell.

I did not begin to write till some time after that *Sixpenny Pamphlet* was publish'd against me, which the *King of Sparta* thought fit to mention in his own *Royal Epistle*; and was pleased to intimate, wou'd be a *full Reply* to my *Letter to the Craftsman*. Upon this Intimation I resolved to receive my Enemies *whole Fire*, and to hear *all* they could say, that I might at once give an Answer to whatever should deserve one.

At last this Pamphlet came out, which was *Advertised* about *six Weeks* before it was *published*: I am told, that, upon *Second Thoughts*, it was *withdrawn* after it was first sent to the *Press*, in order to make some *necessary Alterations*. The Author subscribes himself *R. M.* and appears to be so very *warm* in the *Cause* he undertakes, that from *hence*, and the *two Letters* *R. M.* which

which he has printed as the *Initial Letters* of his *proper Name*, one would almost suspect him to be a *well-known Gentleman*, of whose *Labours* and *Zeal* for the *Interest* of a certain *noble Person*, the *Journals* of the *British House of Commons* are standing and undeniable *Evidences*. The *Stile* of this *Pamphlet* is not extreamly *sublime*, tho' it must be confessed, that in many *Places* it is hardly *intelligible*. Whatever it asserts as *Matter of Fact*, is, generally speaking, directly *false*. The Author's principal *Design*, if I guess right, was to provoke me by these *false Assertions* (added to the most *abusive Language* and *cruel Insults*, upon my *being under Confinement*) to say something in *Answer* to him, which might be laid hold of by my *Adversaries*; with whose *tender Mercies* I am already too well acquainted, to entertain the least Doubt about their applying to the *Secular Arm*; and making a *full Use* of any such *Advantage*. Tho', as soon as I saw this *Pamphlet*, I resolved never to give it a *formal Answer*, I shall quote enough of it to convince my Readers that I have not misrepresented Mr. *R. M.* the worthy Author.

## 4 The INTRODUCTION.

In my *Letter to the Craftsman*, I affirm,  
“ That, \* *In more than one Instance, I have*  
“ *been treated with greater Severity than*  
“ *ever any Englishman was before in the*  
“ *like Circumstances.*

I afterwards add :

“ *As I never loved general Assertions,*  
“ *I am here strongly tempted to descend to*  
“ *Particulars ; but when I consider my present*  
“ *Situation, I am in great Doubt, whether,*  
“ *with any tolerable Assurance of Impunity,*  
“ *I might venture to mention even the most*  
“ *plain, the most notorious, and undeniable*  
“ *Facts.*

From these Words Mr. R. M. takes Occasion to fall upon me in the following Manner.

“ *Does it well consist or agree with such*  
“ *daring Declarations, such sturdy Defiances*  
“ *as you have made, that you would give up*  
“ *your Life in this Cause, if you failed in the*  
“ *Proof: I say, does it correspond with such*

---

\* See Page the 32d in the *Seventh Edition* of the *Letter to the Craftsman.*

“ *seeming*

“ seeming Intrepidity, to make this sneaking,  
“ this shuffling Prevarication in the Close,  
“ that, in your present Situation, you are in  
“ some Doubt, whether, with any tolerable  
“ Assurance of Impunity, you may venture  
“ to mention, even the most plain, the most  
“ notorious and undeniable Facts? —  
“ You have at least one Security, that Fines  
“ and Imprisonment cannot possibly affect  
“ you, for you are in Confinement already.  
“ What is it then you have to fear? It is  
“ not High-Treason to prove the Truth against  
“ Sir R. W. Even Scandalum Magnatum  
“ cannot be your Terror. You are Lodg'd.  
“ You are already beyond its Reach. Now,  
“ therefore, since neither your Life or Liber-  
“ ty, your Lands or Goods, can any Ways  
“ suffer, by your Opposition to this great and  
“ honourable Person, mighty and powerful  
“ we allow him to be; What have you to  
“ fear? What is it you are any ways alarm'd  
“ at? for Providence hath happily indem-  
“ nified your Ears by abolishing the Court of  
“ Star-Chamber; a Blessing that ought to be  
“ acknowledged. It is a poor and wretched  
“ Artifice, that you can have any Punish-  
“ ment to fear.

To all these *Insults* and *hard Words*, I shall only return the Gentleman, from whom I receive them, this *plain Answer*.

I confess, my present Condition is *wretched* enough ; tho' perhaps it is not yet so *bad*, but that there is a Possibility of its becoming still *worse*. I doubt a little even of the Truth of that *Proposition* which this ingenuous Writer *lays down*, and so plainly *demonstrates*, (viz.) That *Fines* cannot possibly affect me, because I am in *Confinement* already : Neither am I fully satisfied, of what this worthy Author farther asserts, that my *Life* is in no manner of *Danger* ; from the same Reason, (viz.) only because I am in *Confinement* already ; Having read somewhere of an unhappy Gentleman, one Sir Thomas Overbury, who was brought into *Confinement* by the Contrivances of a \* *great Man*, and a

great

---

\* This *great Man*, and *great Minister*, was Mr. Robert Car, who, from a *private Gentleman of no great Parts or Birth* (says Echard) was made a *Knight of the Garter*, and well known afterwards by the Title of Sir Robert Car : He was at last created Earl of *Somerset* by King James the First, in whose Reign he was *first Minister*, and *chief Favourite*. The Story of Overbury has some *Particulars* in it so *curious*, that, I believe, such of my Readers,

## The INTRODUCTION. 7

great Minister ; for no other Reason, but that he might afterwards be dispatch'd into another World, with the less Noise and Observation. In a Word, I have had some little

---

Readers, as are not already acquainted with it, will be glad to know it. Mr. *Thomas Overbury* was a *Man of Sense*, and a *Scholar*. He had applied himself for some time to the Study of the Law, in which he made a considerable Progress, but at last unfortunately left the Temple, in Hopes of getting Preferment at Court. Here he soon became acquainted with Sir *Robert Car*. This great Favourite, *upon the Death of that famous Statesman, the Earl of Salisbury*, (says *Echard*) *assumed the whole Administration of the Government, and took the Liberty to receive Packets, and dispatch Answers without the Knowledge of the King or Council*. *Overbury* was famous for having a fine Pen ; and we have still a Poem of this unhappy Gentleman's, which is full of *Wit* and *true Satyr*. *Somerset*, upon several Occasions, had made use of his *Advice*, and his *Pen*, and had found both so serviceable, that he had often made him the strongest Professions of *Gratitude* and *Friendship*. Poor *Overbury*, who was now knighted, thought himself obliged to act in all Respects like a real and sincere Friend, and to consult the Good of his Patron. Accordingly, he took the Liberty to speak his Sentiments to the Minister, in relation to his Conduct, in a certain *scandalous Affair*, which *Overbury* plainly told him would prove his Ruin. *Somerset*, whose Head was now turned with *Pride* and *Power*, could not forgive this Freedom in his Friend, but resolved to take away his Life by *Poison* ; in order to effect this with the more Secrecy, he contrived to get him imprisoned in the Tower. There is a *Letter* of *Overbury*'s still extant, in which he upbraids *Somerset* in the most lively Terms, with his *Cruelty* and *Ingratitude* : And this very *Letter* is thought, by most People, to have hastened his *Fate*. When the uncommon Strength of this poor Gentleman's Constitution had struggled for above four Months together with all the Poisons

## 8 *The INTRODUCTION.*

little Experience of my Enemies *Mercy* and *good Nature*, and must therefore beg this Gentleman's Pardon, if I still use the same *Caution* I did in my *Letter to the Craftsman.*

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sons which had been given him at several Times by *Somerset's* Direction, he dy'd at last under unheard-of Pains. *And, now* (says *Echard*) *the Earl of Somerset, like a mighty Coloss, stood the Fury of all the Tempests raised against him*; *making those who carry'd the greatest Sail, to strike, and come under him*; *nor would suffer any Place in Court, or Dignity in State, to be conferr'd on any, which was not sweeten'd with his Smile that gave it, or their Bounty that enjoy'd it.* This Pride and Avarice joined to his other *Miscarriages*, caus'd such a Number of *Underminers*, that he soon found he had but a tottering Foundation, with no other Support but the King's *Favour*, which, by *Providence and inferior Accidents*, was gradually removed; *making a Way towards the Vengeance due to the Blood of Sir Thomas Overbury.* The barbarous Murder of this innocent unfortunate Gentleman, which had been privately whisper'd for some time, began at last, to be loudly talked of. All who heard the Story, were struck with Horror: King *James*, to convince his Subjects how impartially he was resolved throughout his whole Reign to administer *Justice*, and that he would never tolerate either *Murder* or *Oppression* in his *first Ministers*, sent for all the Judges to come to him at *Theobalds*: The Judges waited upon him accordingly, when his Majesty kneeling down in the midst of a Circle of Court Lords and Gentlemen, after having conjured his Judges in the most solemn Manner, to examine into the Bottom of *Overbury's* Affair, without *Favour*, *Affection*, or *Partiality*, he added (says Sir *Anthony Weldon*) these very remarkable Words: *And if you shall spare any of this Crime, God's Curse light on you and your Posterity: And if I spare any that are found Guilty, may God's eternal Curse light on me and my Posterity.* The Judges having received so strict a Charge, and such full Encouragement, fell roundly to their Business, without fearing

*Craftsman.* I do, however, make Mr. R. M. this fair Offer; If he will procure me any tolerable Assurance of writing with Impunity (and by his own *Confession*, he is

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fearing the Frowns of a Minister whom they now suspected to be *declining*. One *Richard Weston* was the first Man who was convicted and executed, for being an Instrument *Somerset* had made use of to murder *Overbury*: *Weston* made a very full Confession of the whole Fact; and *Hollis*, *Wentworth*, and *Lumsden* were fined and imprisoned, for having offered him a vast Bribe, and strongly tempted him to prevaricate. Mrs. *Turner*, *James Franklin*, and Sir *Jervase Ellways*, Lieutenant of the Tower, three more of *Somerset's* Instruments, were soon after convicted and executed; who all likewise confessed the Fact for which they suffered. At the Tryal of Sir *Jervase Ellways*, it plainly appear'd by *Letters* under the Earl of *Northampton's* own *Hand*, that he likewise had been an Actor in *Overbury's* Tragedy; and the World was amazed to find, that a Nobleman, who was Master of a vast Fortune, should engage himself in so *Low* and *Execrable* a Piece of Villainy, only to make his Court to a *first Minister*. *Northampton* was dead at this Time, and (having built that Noble Palace near *Charing-Cross*, now called *Northumberland-House*, and always kept an open and a plentiful Table) had left a tolerable Character behind him. But now (*says Echard*) *Fame loaded his Memory with all the Blackness that Infamy and Odium could produce*. *Somerset*, tho' every Body knew he was the Primary Murderer, found Means to defer his Tryal till the Year following: So effectually will *Power* and *Money* screen the most evident Guilt. At last, when the Cries of the whole Nation grew too loud to be stopped, and every Body openly complain'd, that tho' some of his Instruments had received their just Reward, yet the Man who set them at Work, was still unpunished; he and his Wife were brought to their Tryals: They were both soon convicted: The Countess, who was generally thought the

is acquainted with the *Powerful* and the *Mighty*) I am ready to *open* such a *Scene*, as possibly every honest *Englishman* may *start* at the *Sight* of: But if Mr. *R. M.* will give me no such *Assurance*, the *Publick* will please to judge whether his *Manner* of treating me upon this *Head*, is altogether consistent with *Candour* and *Generosity*. I confess, his mentioning the *Star-Chamber* with some sort of *Concern*, that so *infamous* and *tyrannical* a *Court* was ever abolish'd, does not mightily *tempt* me to say every

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the finest Woman in *England*, gave her Peers no *Trouble*, but with a *Shower* of *Tears* pleaded *Guilty*; and rather chose to confess the *Fact*, than have such *Particulars* proved upon her by the *Evidence*, as must have made her *Soul* appear a most *unworthy Tenant* of so *beautiful* a *Body*. King *James*, tho' so many Persons had been already *executed*, who were only the *Instruments* of his Minister's *Wickedness*; and notwithstanding his own most *solemn Execration* before-mentioned, not only pardon'd *Somerset*, but, tho' he removed him from *Court*, gave him an *Estate* of 4000*l. per Ann.* in *Land*; before which this *wicked* and *worthless* *Man* had (according to *Rapin*) by several *scandalous* *Jobbs*, in *five Years* *Time*, got an *Estate* of 19,000*l. per Ann.* in *Land*, and 200,000*l.* in *Money*; a vast *Sum* at that *Time*, tho' but a *meer Trifle* to what we have known a *first Minister* get since those *Days*. *James the First* was most severely censured for this notorious *Partiality* towards his *Minister*; and some *Writers* think, that all those *Calamities* which soon after befel himself and his unfortunate *Posteriority*, were owing to his letting *Somerset* escape unpunished: And, that by this *Act* of *Injustice*, he drew down upon himself and his *Children*, that *Vengeance* which the cruel *Sufferings* of poor *Overbury* seemed so loudly to call for.

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thing I could, however kindly Mr. R. M. is pleased to *invite* me to it. The Groans of a whole Nation, added to the *particular Sufferings* of her *bravest Patriots*, spoke at last so loud, as fired an *English Parliament*, and made them destroy the very *Being* of that *infamous Court* last mentioned: But notwithstanding that Court is abolish'd, yet, as Mr. R. M. has very rightly, though perhaps a little unwarily, observed, in another Part of his Pamphlet; *The LAW, by the LITTLE TRICKS OF THE LONG ROBE, has been sometimes MADE to Censure such Writings as could not properly be term'd LIBELLOUS*; I do intirely agree with Mr. R. M. in *this* his Observation, which I am afraid is almost the *only* just one in his whole Book.

I shall lay before my Readers, an Instance or two of Mr. R. M's reducing a *Controversy* to one *single Point*: Of his *arguing after the Socratical Manner*, or by *way of Question*: Of his *Method of vindicating his Friends from those unjust Aspersions* which have been laid upon them: Of the *Justice of his personal Reflections*; of the *Truth of his Facts*, and his *happy Talent at Panegyrick*.

“ *Nothing* (says Mr. *R. M.* to me) *can be*  
“ *a more heinous Iniquity, a more aggra-*  
“ *vated Wickedness, than an Attempt upon*  
“ *your Life, a Combination with a Creditor*  
“ *to imprison, and with a Gaoler to murder*  
“ *you. Make this appear to the Satisfaction*  
“ *of Mankind, we will believe all the rest,*  
“ *the worst things you can say against Sir*  
“ *R. W. But in order to make it appear,*  
“ *shew us likewise, That he influenc'd your*  
“ *Bail to surrender you.*

I do most readily assent to Mr. *R. M.*'s Assertion in his *first Period*: I am infinitely obliged to him for his *gracious Promise* in his *second Period*: But, alas! the *Command* which he lays upon me in his *third Period* (which if I do not *obey*, I am not, it seems, entitled to any of his *Favours*) has spoilt all. *But in order to make this appear, shew us* (says Mr. *R. M.*) *that Sir R. W. influenced your Bail to surrender you.* I must own I cannot help thinking this *Order* a little *severe*, because in my Letter to the *Craftsman* which Mr. *R. M.* pretends he is answering, I do expressly declare, that my  
Bail

Bail never did surrender me ; but that *I* surrendered myself to the *Fleet*, to save my *Bail* from paying a *pretended* *Debt*, for which *I* was *unjustly* sued.

Mr. *R. M.* frequently argues in the *Socratical Manner*, that is, by *way of Question* : Speaking of *me* and my *Charge* against Sir *R. W.*

“ *What* (says Mr. *R. M.*) *are his Vouchers*? *Where are his Evidences*? *How shall we confront or cross-examine them*? *And will a Man dare to make such an Attack upon the Fame of a Minister*, without the *least Intention to justify the Charge*? *Will he look to Heaven and pray for Mercy*? *Will he turn to Men and sue for Pity*? *whilst he proceeds in such Wickedness, Malice and Falshood*.

I confess this *Groupe* of *Questions*, so happily flung together, shews a very fertile Genius, and perhaps, this is the best Method of *Confounding*, an *Adversary* : I have heard, That when a *certain Sort of Man* turns *Disputant*, he has been known to

to ask more Questions in an *Hour*, than a *wise Man* could answer in a *Fortnight*; and perhaps this very Consideration made the *wisest of Men* sometimes give no other Answer to one *Question*, than by asking *another*. I shall for once, presume to follow so great an Example, and shall answer all the Queries of Mr. *R. M.*, or Mr. *What-d'ye-call-him* (as \* Mr. *Scrub* humorously calls him) with this single Question, *viz.* If all my *Vouchers* are *prepared*, if my *Evidences* are *ready to appear*, and are even willing to submit to be *Confronted* and *Cross-examined* by Mr. *What-d'ye-call-him*, *Where* and *When* are we to wait upon him?

“ *If* (says Mr. *R. M.* to me) *you do not*  
 “ *prove this great, this grievous Oppression,*  
 “ *Pray what shall we say of you? who*  
 “ *alarm the World, with what you dare not*  
 “ *bring to the Test of Enquiry, and which you*  
 “ *are afraid should be examined, tho' under*  
 “ *the View of a most impartial and indulgent*  
 “ *Judge, the Prince of whom we speak?*

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\* A Gentleman who has wrote an humourous Pamphlet in Mr. *Budgell's* Defence, and in Answer to Mr. *R. M.* was pleased to subscribe himself *Timothy Scrub*.

If nothing in my Behaviour has yet shewn, that I have asserted what *I dare not bring to the Test of Enquiry*, or that I am afraid of being examined by that excellent Prince, who, I believe as firmly as this Author can, would be a *most impartial and indulgent Judge*; I say, If nothing in my Behaviour has yet shewn, that I am afraid of being *Examined* by that *just and good Prince*, the King of *Great Britain*, I think I need not give any manner of Answer to Mr. *R. M.*'s satirical Query, in his Paragraph last quoted, *viz.* *Pray what shall we say of You?*

I shall give my Readers one more Instance of Mr. *R. M.*'s great Judgment in asking Questions.

“ *You say* (says Mr. *R. M.* to me) *you was once Sir R. W's Friend, when he was struggling with a very great, and a very able Man* : *I suppose you mean a noble Earl, Minister in the last Reign, who has long since been with his Fathers.* But, do you remember in all this Struggle, that this Honourable Person ever libell'd the “ Great

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“ Great Man we speak of? or ever abus’d  
“ him to his Royal Master? or to the Pub-  
“ lic? with general Accusations, unsup-  
“ ported Improbabilities, dark Hints, or  
“ random Insinuations? No, Sir, he had  
“ the Pleasure to suppress all such Attempts  
“ of this Nature, as were offered to his  
“ Approbation, and never made his Appeals  
“ to the Populace against that Minister, on  
“ any Account, but in Defence of his own  
“ Reputation.

I could give Mr. R. M. a very particular Answer to each of his Questions in this Paragraph; but at present, for certain Reasons, I shall only tell him, that *I am his most Obedient and most Humble Servant.*

Mr. R. M. is extreamly happy in his *Vindications* of his Fellow-labourer, the *St. James’s Evening Post*, and of Sir R. W.

“ *The St. James’s Evening Post* (says  
“ Mr. R. M.) took the Liberty to say you  
“ was safely conducted from Court, Home to  
“ your Family.

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The *St. James's Post* did, indeed, take *this Liberty*, and in answer to him, I took the Liberty to say, That he had publish'd to the World a most *shameful Falshood*, for which there was not even the *least* Foundation. That I humbly conceived this Falsehood was a high *Reflection* upon the *King* himself, since all good Princes have ever lent a gracious Ear to the Complaints of their Subjects, more especially against their *own Ministers*, who are, generally speaking, too powerful to be check'd by any but their *Master*: That His Majesty was pleas'd to hear what I said to him, with that *Goodness* and *Condescension*, which are never wanting in a *generous Breast*; but that any body would imagine, by the Account given in the *St. James's Evening Post*, that I had been sent Home with a *File of Musketeers*, or, at least, in Custody of the Yeomen of the Guard.

Let us now see, in what Manner Mr. *R. M.* vindicates his Associate, the *St. James's Evening Post*, from my *unjust*

C Accu-

*Accusation.* He addresses himself to me in the following Words.

“ Who would interpret it as you do ? that  
“ you was sent Home by a File of Musqueteers,  
“ or at least by the Yeomen of the Guard ?  
“ No, Sir, all that know your present Con-  
“ finement, and the Circumstances of so im-  
“ portant a Person, can be no Secret with the  
“ Publick : All, I say, imagined, as well  
“ they might, that the Officer attending  
“ your Person, enlarged by a Day-Rule, safely  
“ conducted you Home to your Quarters, the  
“ Rules of the Fleet-Prison.

Though I do not take Mr. *R. M.* to be a very knowing Person, yet I am fully persuaded, that in this Place he is pleased to make himself much more ignorant than he really is, in order to bring off his *Friend* and *Ally*, the *St. James's Post*. There is scarce a Porter in Town, who does not know, that those unhappy Gentlemen, who are indulged with the *Liberties* of the *Rules* of the *Fleet*, are only *Prisoners* upon *Parole*; that they are *never* attended by any *Officer*, either while they are *within* the

the Rules, or when, by virtue of a Day-Rule, they go *out* of them. If they could resolve to forfeit their *Honour* to their *Bail*, or the *Warden*, it is in their Power to make their Escape every Day of their Lives, and to become as free as Mr. *R. M.* himself is at this present writing. Their own *Honour* is the only *Officer* that *attends them*, and *safely conducts them Home to their Quarters, the Rules of the Fleet Prison.* It is certain, that to *Men of Honour*, this same *Honour* is the most *inexorable Gaoler upon Earth*; and was never yet known to let one of them escape from him: It was he that forced *Regulus* \* to return from

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\* *Attilius Regulus* was Consul of *Rome* in the first Punick War. After having obtain'd several Victories, he at last besieged *Carthage* itself: The *Carthaginians*, in this Extremity, desired Aid from the *Lacedemonians*, who sent *Xantippus* to their Assistance. *Regulus*, engaging in a Plain, and his Cavalry being inferior to the *Spartan General's*, was defeated and taken Prisoner. When he had lain in a Dungeon some Years, the *Carthaginians* sent him to *Rome*, (still a Prisoner upon Parole) to persuade the Senate to *agree to a Peace*, or at least to an *Exchange of Prisoners*. The *Roman Senate* was well enough inclined to either, and pleased with the Thought of recovering a Citizen of so much Merit as *Regulus*. *Senatui nisi ipse Auctor fuisset, captivi profecto*

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from *Rome* to *Carthage*, though the unhappy Prisoner very well knew the Treatment he was to expect there. Some Sort of People will, indeed, run away from this Keeper; but *such* are very seldom committed to his Custody: Since the greatest Men have met with Misfortunes, and it is not absolutely impossible that Mr. *R. M.* before he dies, may be better acquainted with the *Fleet Prison* than he *pretends* to be at present, I beg leave to inform him as a Friend, that I find the Warden of the

*Fleet*

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*fecto Pœnis reddit i essent; incolunis in Patriâ Regulus restitisset, Cic.* The only Obſtacle to their agreeing with the *Carthaginians*, was *Regulus* himſelf; who preferring the *Honour* and *Welfare* of his Country to his *own Safety*, made it appear, with an irrefiſtable Eloquence in the Senate-Houſe, That the *Romans* neither ought to *make Peace*, nor agree to an *Exchange of Prisoners*. When he had obliged the Senate to come into these Sentiments, tho' he well knew what he muſt expeſt at *Carthage*, he returned thither in Spite of all the Persuasions of his weeping Friends, and was put to Death by the *Carthaginians*, with the moſt exquife Tortures. *Regulum palpebris reſectis, Machinâ, in quâ undiq; præacuti stimuli eminebant, inclusum, vigilantiâ pariter & continuo tractu doloris necaverunt, Valer. Maxim.* This Story gave Occasion to one of the fineſt Odes in all *Horace*: Which begins,

*Cælo*

*Fleet Prison* is (as it behoves him to be) very *Cautious* whom he trusts, and that should a Man be committed to his *Custody*, who was pretty well known to have no Notion of *Shame* or *Honour*, to be govern'd by nothing but his *Interest*, and to make no Scruple of asserting, even in Print, the most *flagrant Falshoods*; I say, should such

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*Cælo tonantem credidimus Jovem  
Regnare: præsens divus habebitur  
Augustus, adjectis Britannis  
Imperio, gravibusque Persis.*

Horace has given us the *Speech* which he supposes *Regulus* made to the Senate upon this Occasion, and afterwards describes the Behaviour of *Regulus* himself, in those inimitable Lines:

*Fertur pudicæ conjugis osculum,  
Parvosque natus, ut capit is minor,  
Ab se removuisse, & virilem  
Torvus humili posuisse vultum;*

*Donec labantes consilio patres  
Firmaret auctor nunquam aliis dato,  
Interque mærentes amicos  
Egregius properaret exul.*

*Atqui sciebat quæ sibi barbarus  
Tortor pararet: non aliter tamen  
Dimovit obstantes propinquos  
Et populum redditus morantem,*

*Quam si clientum longa negotia  
Dijudicata lite relinqueret;  
Tendens Venafranos in agros  
Aut Lacedæmonium Tarentum.*

a Man be committed to the Warden's Custody, 'tis a Hundred to one, but that, instead of being trusted with the *Liberty of the Rules*, he would be *locked up* within the *Walls* of the Prison, a Punishment of so severe and terrible a Nature, that I do assure Mr. *R. M.* as much as he has *abused* me, I am far from wishing he may ever suffer. I know at present, by sad Experience, that *Confinement*, even in a tolerable Lodging, to a Man accustomed to Exercise, is a *sure*, though *lingering* Death ; since it will certainly bring such Distempers upon him as must at last prove *fatal* ; but that the Air of a Gaol, where a Multitude of Wretches are shut up together, has something in it so very *Noisome* and *Pestilential*, that I am surprized, to find Men of the strongest Constitutions can live in it *three Months* together. Under what Torments most of them are obliged to endure Life, is apparent from the *Report* of the Committee for the Inspecting Gaols, who, (tho' I am well assured, *many Particulars* were artfully concealed from them) have laid before the Publick such a Scene, as I hope, and do verily believe, neither the *Spanish Inqui-*

*Inquisition* nor the *Bastile* in *France*, are able to match. I chuse to dwell a little upon this Subject, that if there are any Men at present in Power, whose *Pride*, *Cruelty*, or *natural Insolence*, heightened by that *Luxury* in which they wallow *themselves*, makes them ready and eager, on the slightest Pretences, to fling *Englishmen*, their *Fellow-Subjects* and *Fellow-Creatures* into *Gaols*, *Prisons*, and *Dungeons*; I say, I dwell a little the longer upon this Subject, to make *such* Men (if such there are) reflect, if possible, that while they may fancy they are only rendering themselves awful to the People, or giving an Opportunity to an honest Gaoler their Friend, to get a little Money; they are too often committing the *blackest Murders*, for which, if there ever is to be a *just* and *real Inquisition*, the Blood of those unhappy Wretches, who perish in the Prisons to which such Magistrates send them, will most certainly be demanded at their Hands.

Mr. *Thomson*, in one of his Poems upon *the Seasons*, has a very proper *Memento*

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for such Men, whose *Insolence in Power* makes them almost forget that they are of the same Species with their Fellow Creatures.

Ah, little think the gay, licentious *Proud*,  
Whom *Pleasure*, *Power* and *Affluence* surround,  
How many feel this very Moment, *Death*,  
And all the sad Variety of Pain.  
How many pine in Want, and dungeon *Glooms* ;  
Shut from the common *Air*, and common *Use*  
Of their own *Limbs*.

The same Gentleman speaking of the late Committee for Inspecting Gaols, makes them the following handsome and just Compliment.

And here can I forget the *generous Few*,  
Who, touch'd with human *Woe*, redressive sought  
Into the Horrors of the gloomy *Jail* ?  
Unpitied, and unheard, where *Misery* moans ;  
Where *Sickness* pines ; where *Thirst* and *Hunger*  
burn,

And poor *Misfortune* feels the *Lash of Vice*.  
While in the *Land of Liberty*, the Land  
Whose every Street, and publick Meeting glows  
With open *Freedom*, little *Tyrants* rag'd :  
Snatch'd the lean *Morsel* from the starving *Mouth*,  
Tore from cold, wintry *Limbs*, the tatter'd *Robe* ;  
Even

Even robb'd them of the last of Comforts, *Sleep* ;  
The *free-born Briton* to the Dungeon chain'd,  
Or, as the *Lust of Cruelty* prevail'd,  
At pleasure mark'd him with inglorious Stripes ;  
And crush'd out *Lives*, by various nameless Ways,  
That for their *Country* would have *toil'd*, or *bled*.  
*Hail Patriot-band !* who scorning secret Scorn,  
When *Justice*, and when *Mercy* led the Way,  
Dragg'd the *detected Monsters* into *Light*,  
Wrench'd from their Hand Oppression's *Iron Rod*,  
And bade the *Cruel* feel the Pains they *gave*.

I am sure Mr. *R. M.* will excuse me, for mentioning a *Committee* in this manner, whose *Enquiries*, he assures us, Sir *R. W.* most *heartily promoted*: To which I shall only answer, That *I am heartily glad to hear it* ; and could even wish that Honourable Committee had given some *publick Mark* of their *Gratitude* to this great Man for his *generous Assistance* ; which was certainly the more *generous*, as it is commonly thought that *Somebody* used all his *Arts* and *Cunning* to *mislead them* ; and even to *wound* the *Reputation* of those particular Gentlemen who appeared most *active*.

Having

Having shewn in how notable a Manner Mr. *R. M.* has vindicated the *Author* of that Paragraph, which gave an Account of my *Affair* in the *St. James's Evening Post*, I shall shew my Readers, in the next Place, in what Manner he vindicates his *Patron* Sir *R. W.*

Mr. *R. M.* says, That I *confidently assert* in my Letter to the *Craftsman*, that Sir *R. W.* was the Author of those Queries which I have answered, and which were printed about two Years since in the *British Journal*: Let us see how Mr. *R. M.* brings him off; for I confess I look upon *this* to be the most *remarkable Part* in his whole Pamphlet. Mr. *R. M.* is so zealous to serve his *Friend*, that he is content to take those Queries upon *himself*, though, as Mr. *Scrub* has observ'd before me, he cannot help *Mumbling* a little upon the *Thistles*.

“ *As to the Queries in the British Journal*  
“ (*says Mr. R. M.*) *I procured them to be*  
“ *inserted myself*, at a Time when *I had*  
“ *not seen Sir R. W. in any Place whatever*,  
“ *above*

“ above five or six Times in the whole  
“ Course of my Life ; and had so little Com-  
“ munication with him, that I do solemnly  
“ Affirm, he never knew from me, nor I  
“ believe from any one, that I was the pe-  
“ culiar Author of those particular Queries.

Now I humbly conceive, as Mr. Scrubb has observed \* before me, that Sir R. W. might *write* those Queries, though he made Mr. R. M. his *Foot-man*, and sent him with them to the Printer of the *British Journal*, in which Paper, it seems, to use his *own* Words, he *procured them to be inserted*.

I do most firmly believe, what Mr. R. M. does most solemnly *Affirm* in the latter Part of this Paragraph ; viz. That Sir R. W. never knew either from Mr. R. M. or from any body else, That he the said Mr. R. M. was the peculiar Author of these particular Queries, an *Expression*, in which there is so particular an *Elegance*, as I dare say is *Peculiar* to this very Author, whose whole Defence of

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\* Page 27.

Sir *R. W.* upon this Head, is so extreamly *Peculiar* and *Particular*, that I think it can hardly escape the *Observation* of any Reader.

But tho' I should take Mr. *R. M.*'s *solemn Affirmations* and *Declarations*, in that Sense in which I presume he would willingly *have* them taken (*viz.*) That he was the *real Author* of those *Queries*, I cannot help thinking, that Mr. *R. M.* is pleased to act in a pretty *extraordinary* Manner. When any Thing is *asserted*, the World will most certainly take the Liberty either to believe it or not, according to the Opinion they *have* of *that* Person's *Veracity* who tells them the Story. For a Man, therefore, who does not think fit to set his *Name* to what he says, to expect to be believed in a *Cafe* where, as the *French* say, \* *Appearances are against him*, is such an *uncommon* Piece of *Affurance*, as I do not remember to have met with before in *any* Author. I must confess, I cannot help thinking, that the

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\* *Les Apparances font contre.*

Proceeding of Mr. *Calcot* and Mr. *Jones* in the *Dunkirk-Affair*, was much more *modest*. Those Gentlemen, after having received *proper* Directions, went in *proper* Company before a *proper* Magistrate ; where, having made a *proper* Affidavit, they signed it with their own *proper Names* ; and every Body knows, that the Publick had a *proper* Regard, and gave a *proper* Credit to every Syllable they swore. Might I therefore presume so far, I should humbly advise Mr. *R. M.* to print a *Second Edition* of his Pamphlet ; (tho' I find the *First* is not yet disposed of) and to put his *Name* to the New Edition. This is the more *necessary*, because in another Part of his Book he is pleased to stake his *Honour* and his *Reputation* upon certain Points ; and it would, doubtless, be no small Satisfaction to his Readers to be convinced how *great a Stake* this worthy Gentleman is pleased to venture in order to give them *full Satisfaction*.

I cannot help adding one more Argument to induce this great Author, if possible, to comply with my Request. Speaking of Sir *R. W.* “ *Neither have I herein*  
“ (says

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“ (says Mr. R. M.) *Expectations of Sir R. W’s*  
“ *Favour. — But, really, I vindicate this*  
“ *Honourable Person from other Motives*  
“ *than private Views. — I therefore defy*  
“ *and despise the foolish Imputation of Wri-*  
“ *ting for Hire.*

Notwithstanding all these *Solemn Professions* from a Man of Mr. R. M’s *strict Honour* and *establish’d Reputation*, such is the shameful Incredulity of the Age we live in, that it has been strongly reported, Mr. R. M. is an humble Adherent to a certain *most Noble Person*, and has at this very Time a *Pension during Pleasure*; which, as a Reward for his *Merit and Services*, was conferr’d upon him by that great *Mæcenas* of the present Age. Mr. Scrubb has had the Malice to observe that, by Mr. R. M’s own Confession, he had the Honour to see this Noble Person *five or six times* some Years *since*; and as great Genius’s do in a manner demand an Alliance, and run into each other’s Arms by a sort of *Instinct* \*. Mr.

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\* Great Souls by *Instinct*, to each other turn,  
Demand *Alliance*, and in *Friendship* burn.

ADDISON.

Scrub

Scrubb seems to imagine, that Mr. *R. M.* and Sir *R. W.* live together at *present* like *Pylades* and *Orestes* \*, and are become the most *intimate Friends*.

Common Fame goes so far as to say, that Mr. *R. M.* has had a *Particular Reward* for Writing this very Pamphlet: It is true, *Common Fame* is a *malicious Baggage*; yet, if she should happen for once to be in the Right, I do hereby assure Mr. *R. M.* that I take nothing at all amiss from *him*: An *hired Servant* in regular Pay must do something for his *Wages*; and I shall only beg Leave to set down a few of his *personal Civilities*, to the Account of his *Master*: I am sorry that I am forced to tell Mr. *R. M.* that, to my *certain Knowledge*, he did not write those *Queries* in the *British Journal*; which for *certain Reasons* he now most

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\* *Thoas*, King of *Taurica*, having determined to put *Orestes* to Death, his Friend *Pylades*, who was not unlike him, declared that he was *Orestes*; and was going to have suffered Death, if *Orestes*, as the Truth was, had not declared that *he was the Man*. This *generous Contention* between the two Friends, made *The Friendship of Pylades and Orestes* become a Proverb throughout all *Greece*.

earnestly *endeavours* to pass for the *Author* of. I must go a little farther, and shall venture to *assert*, that any Man living, who is a tolerable *Judge* of *English* Stiles, and who will but give himself the Trouble to compare *my Quotations* out of Mr. *R. M.*'s Pamphlet with *those Queries*\*, will be soon convinced that Mr. *R. M.* was not the Author of the *Latter*. I have already said in my *Letter to the Craftsman*, that *I do not take the QUERIST to be an Author of the FIRST CLASS*; yet there is a *Smoothness* in his Stile which, 'tho' it may border a little upon the *Insipid*, is certainly a good deal better than that *hobbling* Stile so very *peculiar* to Mr. *R. M.* There is also a *Per-spicuity* in the *Querist's* Writing, which I do hereby give it under my Hand, Mr. *R. M.* will never attain to as long as he lives: If, for Example, the *true Querist* had thought fit to *father* his *own Production*, I am of Opinion he would have done it in a much *plainer*, if not a more *eloquent Manner*, than by saying, *I do solemnly affirm, that Mr.*

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\* These Queries are inserted at length in my *Letter to the Craftsman*.

R. M. never knew from me, nor I believe from any one, that I was the peculiar Author of these particular *Queries*. Upon the whole, I do not find myself at all disposed to recant whatever I have confidently *Asserted* in my *Letter to Mr. D'Anvers*.

I proceed to shew,

*The Justice of Mr. R. M's personal Reflections, The Truth of his Facts, and his happy Talent for Panegyrick*, after which I will give *One short Specimen of his Learning, and of his Ingenuous Manner of making a Quotation.*

A Man would imagine that Mr. *R. M.* had sufficiently shewn his *Zeal* for his *Master*, by all the ill *Language* which he has made so constant an use of throughout his *Pamphlet*; but not content with this, he is pleased to go *out of his Way* for such *personal Reflections*, which if they had been *true*, (as they are utterly *false* and *groundless*) would, in my *humble Opinion*, have been nothing at all to his present Purpose. Mr. *R. M.* is pleased to inform

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the World, that I have of late Years had a great many Law-Suits in different Courts, and then adds, with equal *Truth* and *good Nature*,

“ *If Mr. Budgell would have been as industrious to have kept out of Suits in those Courts, as he was to shew his Parts upon those Occasions, he would not now have complained of any such terrifying Severities.*

The Character of a *Litigious* Man is, without Dispute, one of the *worst* of Characters, and how little I deserve it, the World is, I believe, at this time pretty well convinced. It is certain I have had, as I find Mr. *R. M.* well knows, a sufficient Number of Law-Suits to ruin any *private Gentleman* of a moderate Fortune; but it is as certain, that they have been *forced* upon me, and *multiplied* in such a Manner, as I hope and believe is without a *Precedent*. For a Proof of what I affirm, I have printed in the Appendix, *a State of one of my Cases*, as it was given in to the House of Lords, none of the Facts contained in which were

were ever denied by my Enemies, and to such of my Readers as understand a little *Law*, I dare say this Piece will be *pretty curious*. I shall say nothing of the *Issue* of this Cause before the House of Lords: *It is my Duty to Believe, that the famous PRECEDENT which was that Day MADE, was founded on the most strict and impartial Justice.*

I have been arrested more than once, without being *told*, or even able to *guess* upon what account. Some few Persons to whom I have given Notes under my Hand for Money, have been offered a *larger Sum* than my Notes entitled them to, for no other Reason, but that I might be *immediately Sued* upon them; and this Offer has been made them by Persons of such *Figure* in the World, as I am sorry to find were not much *better employed*. When I saw how my private Fortune was struck at, I determined to apply myself to the *Profession of the Law*, which I had studied *some Years*, and for which I was originally designed; but after I had been actually *called to the Bar*, such an Attempt was made to have prevented my *acting* in my Profession in *Westminster*.

*minster-Hall*, as I believe I may very safely affirm, was never heard of before, since the *Foundation of the Inns of Court*. I must own I can scarce forbear enlarging myself a little upon some of these Heads: I can scarce forbear saying something more—but—I have done—I hope no other *Englishman* will ever be *pursued* or *ruined* by the like Methods. For myself, I humbly trust that *Providence*, in its own due time, will either *put an End to my Sufferings*, or, what is just the same thing, will *enable me to support them*.

Mr. *R. M.* speaking of my formerly having served the Crown as *Secretary of State* in *Ireland*, insinuates, with his usual *Candor* and *Generosity*, that I *lost* that Employment for some *heinous Crime*: His Words are these,

“ *They who remember what Place he had,*  
“ *do also remember how he lost it.*

I believe and hope, that there are some Thousands of my Fellow-Subjects in *England* and *Ireland*, who do very well know and remember, that I lost that Place for no other

other Reason, but because I refused to do what no Man of Honour or Honesty would have done. For the Truth of this Assertion, I dare refer Mr. *R. M.* to a certain *Friend* of his, even to Sir. *R. W.* who has formerly expressed his Sentiments of this Affair in several *publick Companies*, and in the most *open* Manner. In a Word, I take leave to tell Mr. *R. M.* that I am prouder of having lost a Post, for refusing to do a dishonest Action, though it would have been very much for my own private Advantage, than I should be to get a Post by doing such Work as Great Men will sometimes expect from their humble Adherents.

In another Part of his Pamphlet, Mr. *R. M.* most kindly insinuates, that *His Grace the present Duke of Bol—n* can give some ample *Testimonials* relating to me, and not much to my Advantage. I must own I am intirely at a loss, and cannot even guess at what the ingenious Author means by this Reflection: I cannot remember that I ever spoke to the present Duke of *Bol—n* above once in my Life: It was in the Year 1721, about some Affairs depending in

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Parliament, relating to the *South-Sea Company*, concerning which I had the good Fortune to be entirely in the same Way of Thinking with his Grace. I confess I thought myself a little hardly used by the late Duke of *Bol—n*; most People thought so too; nay, some of his Grace's *best Friends* and *nearest Relations* were of this Opinion. That unfortunate Peer is now no more. The very *Person* who was thought to have influenced him to my Prejudice, is said to have occasioned his *suffering* much *severer Pangs* than I ever desired he should *endure*.

If Mr. *R. M.* is endeavouring to revive the Remembrance of my unhappy Difference with his Grace, to make it an *Italian Quarrel*, and persuade his Posterity to keep it up; such a *Design* is extreamly *mean*, and I fancy will hardly take. I am so very far from having the least Prejudice to any one Person of that most Noble and Antient Family, that I should be proud to serve any of them if it lay in my Power; nor do I believe there is at present one among them who would willingly do me the least Injury.

Mr.

Mr. *R. M.* in his pretended Answer of my Letter to the *Craftsman*, very roundly tells me,

“ You represent, that either the Lord Chancellor, or present Master of the Rolls, “ would not suffer an Account to be ballanced, “ on one Article of which you lost your “ Liberty. You say they refused it, though “ you often required it, and draw the In- “ tegrity of those learned and honourable “ Persons in Question.

In answer to this Paragraph, I do assert, That I never did either represent or say, what Mr. *R. M.* with great Ingenuity has here charged me with saying : I shall therefore leave those Learned and Honourable Persons, whom he has so kindly introduced in this Paragraph, to return him their Thanks for the *Compliment* which he has made them.

Mr. *R. M.* shines in a particular Manner, whenever he aims at Panegyrick, of which I humbly conceive his following Observation is an undeniable Instance.

“ *The Case of Sir R. W. and the L. C.*  
“ *J. Eyre* (says Mr. *R. M.*) *are too much*  
“ *alike, in the Nature of the Slanders*  
“ *against them, which are equally malicious,*  
“ *scandalous, false, and utterly groundless.*

I shall not pretend to determine which of the great Men aboye-mentioned, is most obliged to Mr. *R. M.* for this *happy Comparison.*

I promised to give A short Specimen of Mr. *R. M.*’s *Learning* : Mr. *R. M.* in one Part of his Book, is of Opinion with his Fellow-Labourer, the *St. James’s Post*, that I am *greatly disorder’d in my Senses*; he has even taken some Pains to persuade me to *confess it ingenuously*, and upon *this Condition* graciously promises, that *all* I have lately done shall be *forgiven* : To convince his Readers how true a Notion he has of *Madness*, he has given them in Page the Ninth, a most *concise and excellent Definition* of it. *Madness*, if we may believe Mr. *R. M.* is an *Involuntary Misfortune*, owing to the *Influence of wandering Planets.*

*Planets.* It is very evident from this learned *Definition of Madness*, that Mr. R. M. is most profoundly skilled in the *Influences of the Planets*, and yet perhaps, if he had not given us this *Cast of his Art*, not one of his Readers would have suspected him for a *Conjurer*. If a *Poor Gentleman greatly disorder'd in his Senses* (I hope this ingenuous *Confession* will satisfy \*) might presume to start an Objection to so learned an *Astrologer* about his own *Art*, I would humbly inform him, that Doctor *Mead* is very positive, that *Madness* is not owing to the *Influence of the Planets*, and that one Sir *Isaac Newton* has pretended to demonstrate, that every one of these same Planets is so very far from being *wandering*, that all its Motions are much more *constant*, *settled* and *regular* than the Motions of the best Watch ever made by the late Mr. *Tompion*; that they have been the same ever since the Creation, as they are at this

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\* It is rather to be hoped, *this Confession* will be thought *sufficient*, because it is in the *very Words* of the *Author* of the famous Paragraph in the *St. James's Evening Post*.

Day ; and are likely to continue the same for some Ages yet to come. I am far from presuming to determine any thing ; *Non nostrum tantas componere lites.* I think it sufficient to have shewn, that *two* such great Men as Mr. *R. M.* and Sir *Isaac Newton* are of *different Opinions* in this Particular.

I shall, lastly, take a little Notice of Mr. *R. M.*'s ingenuous Method of making a Quotation: Mr. *R. M.* in all his Answer to my Letter to the *Craftsman*, pretends to transcribe but *one single Paragraph* out of my said Letter. There is, however, one Paragraph which Mr. *R. M.* says,

“ *Is so very singular, I cannot but chuse to transcribe it.*

Now Mr. *R. M.*'s Method of *transcribing* this unhappy Paragraph, which he has *singled out*, is thus: The whole Paragraph is but *one Sentence*, consisting of *Seven Lines*; Mr. *R. M.* has very dexterously tack'd the *two last Lines* to the *first Line*, and left out those *four Lines* which stood  
between

between them, and made *part of the Sentence*. I am very far from finding fault with this Method of *transcribing a Passage* from the Writings of an Adversary, having often observed it practised with good Success by *several Authors* on the *same* Side of the Question with Mr. R. M., who in this Particular does but imitate the great *Cleomenes* himself, as I shall have occasion to shew hereafter.

I hope, however, my Readers do not expect that I should answer every Particular of a Pamphlet wrote in the *Stile* and *Manner* of Mr. R. M's. I should not easily be induced to undertake such a Task; but had much rather give Mr. R. M. full Permission to believe that every Word of his Pamphlet is *unanswerable*.

To confess the Truth, I have already, in my own Opinion, said a great deal too much in answer to a Pamphlet which I cannot find many People have taken the Pains to *read*: I had fully determined to make no manner of Reply to any Part of it, if two or three of my Friends, who assure me

me it is wrote by Direction, had not per-  
suaded me to take some Notice of it. If the  
Reader would see an Answer to the rest of  
it, he may find it in a Letter wrote by a Gen-  
tleman, who has very generously taken my  
Part, and is pleased to call himself *Timothy*  
*Scrubb*. Some of the publick Papers could  
not help taking Notice, that this Gentle-  
man's *manner of writing* plainly shews he  
is not of the *Family* of the *Scrubbs*, and  
that tho' he dates his Letter from a *Garret*,  
'tis pretty evident he never lay in *one*. Mr.  
*Scrubb* has regaled Mr. *R. M.* with the same  
*sort of Language* with which that ingenious  
Author has treated *me*: And I must con-  
fess, that tho' I have ever been an Enemy  
to the *Billingsgate Dialect*, yet this same  
Mr. *Scrubb*, and the Author of a *Medita-  
tion upon a great Man*, which he declares  
is written after the Manner of the *Mighty*  
*Cleomenes*, have almost convinced me,  
that there are a Sort of Disputants, who  
ought in Justice to be treated as they treat  
other People, and to have their own Can-  
non turn'd upon them. Mr. *Scrubb's*  
Letter to Mr. *R. M.* has a good deal of

*Ban-*

*Banter and low Humour, yet at the Bottom of both, is good Sense and strong Argument.* \*

Having done for the present with Mr. R. M. I shall say something of his *Master, Cleomenes*; who, if we consider him purely as an Author, is certainly *one Class* above his humble Adherent. His Stile is a good deal better, but he is, it seems, so terribly provoked, that he can no more forbear *calling Names* and giving *ill Language*, than Mr. R. M. himself.

I shall therefore in this Place, fairly state my own Case, and consider what it is I have done, to deserve being told in Print, that *I am the most infamous and vilest of Mankind*, and that *there is not a Felon who*

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\* Mr. Scrubb's Pamphlet is entitled, *A Letter to the Author of a Letter to Eustace Budgell, Esq; in Answer to his Answer of the infamous Paragraph in the St. James's Evening Post.* Printed for J. Wilford behind the *Chapter-house* in St. Paul's Church-yard. Price Six-pence. Mr. Scrubb has taken the following Lines for his *Motto*,

*Boys and Girls, come out to play,  
The Moon do's shine as bright as Day.  
Come with a Whoop; come with a Call;  
Come with a good Will;----or not at all.*

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*is sentenced at the Old Baily, who might not make a much better Defence than I can.*

*State of the Author's Case.* I thought I knew some Things, which as a good Subject I was obliged in *Duty* to lay before His Majesty. I conceived at least, that I was cruelly oppress'd by a Man too great to be complain'd of to any but my King : To *Him* therefore, and to *Him alone*, I made my Complaint : After having endeavoured, at a *vast Expence*, and by a *long Attendance*, to obtain a private Audience, when I saw such Methods were taken to prevent my having one, as I believe were never heard of before at an *English Court* ; I found myself obliged to put part of what I would have said, into a *Petition*, which I delivered into His Majesty's Hand, in that only Place where I had a *proper Opportunity* of presenting it. If I know *any thing* of the Laws of my Country (and I think I do know *something* of them) *Every English Subject has an undoubted Right to petition his Prince*. The greatest Advocates for *Slavery* have never yet had the Assurance to dispute *this Point*. The most zealous Sticklers for *Passive Obedience*

Obedience have universally allowed, that *Prayers and Tears* were such Weapons, as the most *loyal Subjects* might lawfully employ against the most *absolute Monarch*: And I will venture to affirm, that while I am abused, persecuted and reviled, for no other apparent Reason, than having *delivered a Petition to my King*; every *honest Man in England* is obliged in good Policy to take my Part; because he cannot be assured how soon he may otherwise meet with the *like Treatment*. When I had delivered my Petition, I waited the Event of it with *Silence and Resignation*. I resolved not to complain upon the *same Subject* to my *Prince* and to the *Publick*, and when I had appealed to the *first*, I determined to say nothing to the *latter*: I have still so firmly adhered to this my Resolution, that I defy my greatest Enemies to prove I have ever communicated the Contents of that Paper I delivered to his *Majesty* to *any other Person*. I went still farther: I and my Friends used our utmost Endeavours, that all the *Publick Papers*, in which we fancied we had any Interest, should take *no Notice* of what I had

had done at St. James's. Our Endeavours succeeded ; but my Enemies made the most ungenerous use of my Behaviour in this Particular. They got those *Publick Papers*, in which they had any Interest, to represent *Matters of Fact* in the falsest Colours, nay, sometimes in such a Manner, as I and most People thought, reflected not only upon *me*, but even upon his *Majesty* ; a Prince, for whose sacred Person and illustrious Family I have ever shewn, and shall ever shew the most  *fervent Zeal* and *profound Respect*. As for *me*, With that *Humanity* and *Assurance*, which is peculiar to them, they roundly told the *Publick*, That *I was a poor Gentleman, who had long been disordered in my Senses, and was at present down-right distracted*. When I found myself attacked in so extraordinary a Manner, I thought it necessary to say something at least in my own Defence : I therefore published that Pamphlet, entitled *A Letter to the Craftsman*, which has made some Noise in the World. In that Pamphlet I thanked Mr. *D'Anvers*, for having done me Justice in one of his Papers as to *Matters of Fact*. I endeavoured next to

to shew, that I had been long *mark'd* out for Destruction ; that I had been severely threatened about two Years before, not by *Innuendos*, but by my *own Name* printed at *full Length*, and in *Capital Letters* in a *Weekly Journal*, which is generally thought to be wrote by the *Direction*, and under the *Patronage* of a certain *noble Person* : That the Accounts which had been given in the *Publick Papers*, of what I had lately done and said at St. *James's*, were most scandalously *false in Fact* ; and, lastly, I declared that I was ready to prove whatever was asserted in the *Memorial* I delivered to his *Majesty*, and *SOMETHING MORE*, whenever I was properly called upon to do so. These were the *Contents* of my *Letter* to Mr. *D'Anvers*.

It is scarce credible, how much some People were enraged at the Publication of this *Pamphlet*. I shall not trouble my Readers with a particular Account of all the *Spies* which were planted upon me, to discover with whom I conversed or corresponded, or how many People were sent to me, who either under the *Masque* of

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Friends, or by defending certain Persons and Actions, endeavour'd to *persuade* or to *provoke* me to *do* or *say* something that might be improved to my Ruin. When these *little Arts* proved unsuccessful, it was thought proper to fall upon me again in *Print*, to have recourse to the meanest *personal Reflections*, and affirm such *Facts* as are directly *false* in themselves, and have no manner of relation to the present Controversy: To assure the World that *All I have asserted* is *idle, improbable and unsupported*; that being myself full of *Wickedness, Malice and Falshood*, my only Intent is to *vilify, asperse and defame* one of the *greatest and best Ministers* that any Nation

*Cleomenes's Letter, Mr. R. M. &c.* was ever blest with; that I level my Venom at a *noble Person*, who has already past the *Daily Courant, most publick Examinations*, and had his *whole Conduct approved, after the strictest Scrutinies*; That there is not a *Man of Honour in the Nation*, but must look upon me as a *most base and infamous Defamer*; that I have offer'd the *highest Injury* in my Power to a *Person of the greatest Dignity and Worth*, and in a way that must be the *utmost Abhorrence of every honest Mind*; that I ought to be  
treated

treated as a *vile Incendiary*; that all I have asserted, is *malicious, scandalous, false* and *utterly groundless*; that *I bring a Charge before the People where it cannot be proved*; but *at the same time desert it in the only proper Place*, and *at a Time when it ought to be proved*; that *I make use of sneaking and shuffling Prevarications*; that *I dare not bring Things to the Test of Inquiry*, but *am afraid they should be examined*, though *under the View of a most impartial and indulgent Judge, viz. his present Majesty*.

I have transcribed but a *small Part* of the many *Compliments* and *kind Things* which have been shower'd upon me from the Press, by the *humble Servants* and *faithful Adherents* of a certain Noble Person; in answer to all which, and much more of the same Kind, I only beg leave to ask one short Question: Who would not imagine, upon reading all these *Invectives* and *Songs of Triumph*, that I had been called upon to make good my Charge, by that Prince who I firmly believe (as my Adversaries say) is a *most impartial and indulgent Judge*, and that this just and good Prince, having

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examined my Proofs, had found that my whole Charge (to use my Adversaries Words once more) was *malicious, false* and *utterly groundless*? I say, who would not imagine, from all the Invectives before-mentioned, that *This was the Case*? And yet I cannot find that any of those worthy Gentlemen who have wrote against me, have thought proper to assert *It is so*. Whenever *This* happens, it will then be a proper Time for these ingenious Authors to spread all the Sails of their Eloquence; but till then, I should think, it might be no less *politick* than *decent*, to omit a few of *their Rhetorical Flourishes*.

As to my *Understanding*, I find those Gentlemen who have done me the Honour to make me the Subject of their Satyrs, do not intirely agree; nay, that the very *same Writer* is not always consistent with *himself* upon this Head: Sometimes I am represented, as Mr. Scrubb has justly observed, \* to be *A dangerous Orator*, to be *One against whose persuasive, though delusive Arts People*

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\* Page 17.

*cannot*

cannot be too much upon their Guard; to be *A Person*, who knows how to move the *Passions*, and by an uncommon *Eloquence*, to steal into the *Hearts*, and ingross the *Affections* of my Readers. At other Times the Publick is told I am a *stupid Author*, who scribble on without *Meaning* or *Design*; who is qualified for nothing but *clean Straw* and a *dark Room*; whose very *Writings* are a *sufficient Demonstration* that I had no manner of *Injury* done me, when I was represented to the World as a *Person* mad and distracted; that my *Writings* are even *sufficient* to satisfy a *Jury* on this Point, who should be legally *Impannedelled* on a *Commission of Enquiry*. I am sometimes said to be a *dangerous Person*, and a *vile Incendiary*; at other times I am declared to be an *Ape*, a *Coxcomb*, a *Buffoon*, a very weak *Creature*, an *insignificant Reptile*, and a most *despicable Tool*.

*Cleomenes's Letter,*  
*Mr. R. M.*

*Daily Courant.*

I am in very little Pain about any Censure the World shall please to pass upon my *Understanding* or *Abilities*; but I confess I would willingly be thought an *honest Man*, and have all my Fellow-Subjects do me the Justice to believe, that I do most

sincerely and heartily wish to see Old *England*, my native Country, in an happy and a flourishing Condition. Since, therefore, I am attacked with so much Virulence; since I am represented as one of the *worst of Men*, and as an *Enemy to my Country*, I conceive there is no Law either *Human* or *Divine*, by virtue of which I can be reasonably restrained from saying something in my own Defence. I shall return no Part of the *ill Language* I have received, yet if while I am defending myself, I should happen to utter *some Truths* which those Gentlemen, who have thus fallen upon me, do not much care to hear; I hope that even in the midst of their Resentments, they will please to remember, *They began the Attack*. As to my Readers, I am far from desiring any of them to become Parties, or blindly to engage in my particular Quarrel: If any of them have done me the Honour to conceive a favourable Opinion of me, whenever it shall appear that my *Complaints* were *groundless*, or that I have presumed to *assert* what I cannot *prove*, I do most readily grant, that they ought immediately to give me up: But then, till this does appear,

appear, I humbly hope they will continue to put a charitable and candid Interpretation, both upon my Words and Actions. I beg leave to repeat once again, that while I am openly and virulently abused, for *no other Reason*, which *appears* as yet, but my having *Petitioned my King*, which every *Englishman* has a *Right* to do, I think I may reasonably hope, that every *honest Man* in *England* must be convinced, I am abused unjustly; and that if once it shall come to be an established Doctrine, That *It is Criminal even to Petition our King against one of his Servants*, from that Moment our Liberties are at an End. *Machiavel*, in his Discourses upon the first Decade of *Livy*, has employ'd one whole Chapter to shew, that *It is absolutely necessary for the Conservation of any State*, that any *Man who is a Subject of that State*, may be *securely accused*. Since I delivered my Petition, I am very sensible in how *ticklish* a Situation I have been, and yet I humbly trust, that I have done nothing on one Side, which can look like a mean and cowardly deserting my Charge, nor any thing on the other Side, which

can be interpreted into a bold Intrusion upon my Prince, or saucily presuming to prescribe a *Time* to my legal and dread Sovereign. I will therefore hope, that my Cause, as it stands at present, is such, as every Man of *Honour* and *Sense* may venture to defend without a Blush.

The Assertion, that I appeal to the Publick on the *same Heads* I have petitioned his Majesty, is false in Fact. I defy my greatest Enemies to prove, that I have as yet communicated the Contents of that Memorial I delivered to his Majesty to any other Person, and much less to the Publick. *That*, therefore still lies before a proper Judge; but since I have been *publickly* abused, for having delivered my Memorial, I *must* and *do* appeal to the Publick, whether or no I do really deserve all that *ill Language*, and those severe *Invectives*, which upon this Occasion have been so plentifully bestowed upon me.

I am determined to answer the *great Cleomenes* under the Character he himself has assumed; I shall talk to him upon *Spartan*  
*Prin-*

*Principles*, and as one educated under the *Discipline of Lycurgus*. If my addressing myself to him in this Manner, should, in the Opinion of his Friends, carry an Air of Raillery, they will, I hope, please to consider that their Hero should not have taken a *Part* upon him he is unable to support. I must confess, it is with the utmost Indignation, that I have often observed some of the *greatest Names* of Antiquity assumed by Men, who plainly discover in their Writings, that they are very far from being acquainted with the *Manners* and *Customs*, the *Policy* or *Government* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Before the Statesmen of *this Age*, take the Liberty of decking themselves with such Plumes, I should humbly advise them to observe the Rules which *Horace* has given upon another Occasion ;

— *Vos exemplaria Græca*  
*Nocturnâ versate manu versate diurnâ.*

And again,

— *Versate diu quid ferre recusent*  
*Quid Valeant humeri* —

A *Modern Statesman*, who presents himself to the Publick under the Name of an antient *Hero* or *Philosopher*, may properly be said to cloath himself with the *Skin of a dead Lyon*; but then his *Honour* ought to remember, before he appears thus accoutred, that this Stratagem was not formerly very successful to a certain *Politician* who made use of it.

It was thought among the Antients, no less than *Sacrilege* to rob or violate the Sepulchres of the Dead. I am afraid that the *Principles* on which we act in *this Country* and *this Age*, are almost directly contrary to *those* which influenced the *Greeks* and *Romans*; methinks, therefore, we ought not to make so very familiar with those illustrious Shades; and that while we are Strangers to their *Virtues*, it is a Sort of *Sacrilege* to assume their *Names*. The reigning *Passion* among the great Men in *Greece* and *Italy*, was *The Love of Liberty and their Country*. In those Times, no Man was esteemed or thought *Honourable*, but in proportion to his having given more or

or less Proofs of his being actuated by this glorious *Passion*. Money neither purchased Reputation or Respect. The *Man* himself, and not his *Fortune*, was always consider'd. *Epaminondas, Aristides, Phocion, Philopamenes, Poplicola, Quintius Cincinnatus, Menenius Agrippa, C. Fabricius, Emilius Papus, and Curius*, Men, whose Names make so great a Figure in History, who discharged the most important Posts in their respective Countries, who were so often Dictators, Consuls, and Generals ; Every one of these *real Patriots*, hardly saved enough out of all their Triumphs and great Trusts, to pay for their own Funerals ; They were most of them buried, and their Children bred up and married at the Charge of the Publick. It is literally true, that the Porter of a *certain Statesman* now living, is worth more Money than *all* these great Men put together, left behind them.\*

*Lycur-*

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\* In the latter Times of the Commonwealth, when *Rome* became Mistress of so large a Part of the known World, her great Men began to take more care of their private Fortunes ; yet even in those Times, they were extreamly moderate : *Paulus Emilius*, who conquer'd all *Macedon*, overthrew the House of *Alexander*, led *Perseus*

*Lycurgus*, by a most masterly Stroke of Policy, found a Way to exterminate the very *Desire of Riches* among the *Spartans*: They not only thought it the most scandalous of Crimes, to amass a large Estate in the *Administration* of Publick Affairs; but look'd upon it as a Piece of Covetousness, hardly pardonable, for one Man to possess more Wealth than his Neighbours, tho' it was left him by his Ancestors, and had been

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*Perseus* in Triumph, and brought so vast a Quantity of Money into the *Publick Treasury*, that the *Romans* (according to *Plutarch*) never paid *any Taxes* till the first Year of the War between *Antkony* and *Cæsar*; (that is during the Space of One hundred and Twenty-five Years) I say, *Paulus Emilius* left no greater Estate among his Children than Three hundred and Seventy thousand Drachmas, amounting in *English Money* to Eleven thousand Nine hundred Forty-seven Pounds Eighteen Shillings and Four pence. He permitted his *own Sons*, who had behaved with the utmost Gallantry in this Expedition, and were great Lovers of Learning, to take no other Part of all the Spoil, but the Library of King *Perseus*. He only presented *Tubero* his *Son-in-Law*, in Recompence of his extraordinary Valour, with a Bowl, which weighed Five Pounds; and History tells us, that this was the very first Piece of Plate that was ever seen in the *Elian Family*.

*Scipio Africanus* had a pretty good *Paternal Estate*; which he did not, indeed, *Impair* in the Service of his Country; but he very truly told the People in one of his Speeches, That *he had got nothing but a Surname by driving Hannibal out of Italy, and adding Africa to the Roman Empire.*

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honestly acquired : Several of their Kings and most eminent Citizens freely brought their whole Substance into the Publick Stock, or distributed their private Estates among their Countrymen. It must be confessed, that Actions of this Kind, were not so common in other Parts of *Greece*, as in the City of *Sparta* ;\* but when the Cause of their Country demanded their Assistance, or when they were in Hopes to restore *Liberty* to any other City, oppressed either by a foreign or domestick Tyrant, there was scarce a Man who made any Figure in *Greece*, who was not ready to embark and venture his whole Fortune § upon such an Occasion.

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\* *Athens* was the Rival of *Sparta*, and was almost constantly contending with her which should be the Mistress of *Greece*. It is however certain, that the *Athenians* themselves often made a sort of *tacit Confession*, that their Virtue was not equal to that of the *Lacedemonians*. Even *Cimon*, in his Orations to his Countrymen, when he found himself obliged to reprimand them for some Piece of ill Conduct, would often tell them, “ *The Lacedemonians would not do thus.*”

§ Many Instances might be given of this ; but I shall only mention *Aratus of Sicyon*, who, soon after he had, with great Hazard and Resolution, freed his own City from the Tyranny of *Nicocles*, was informed that *Antigonus*

I am afraid *this Sort of Publick Spirit* is so far lost in the present Age, that some of our greatest *seeming Patriots*\* would hardly be persuaded to lessen their own private Fortunes, though they were assured of attaining those Ends which they openly profess to aim at; and that we have many a Man of Fortune among us, who, while he is haranguing in Clubs, and other Publick

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*gonus* had, by Treachery, flung a Garrison into that famous Citadel seated on the *Isthmus*, which united the Continent of *Greece* to *Peloponnesus*, and commanded the City of *Corinth*. He resolved immediately at all Hazards, to restore their *Liberty* to the *Corinthians*: To raise Money for this Purpose, unknown to any Man, he pawn'd his own Plate, and even his Wife's Jewels; and did all this to carry on an Enterprize in which he had no manner of *personal Interest*, and was sure to run the greatest Danger. Such was the Generosity of the antient *Grecians*.

\* The Patriots of antient *Greece* and *Rome*, were never wanting in Acts of *Generosity* and *Benevolence* towards Mankind. *Cato*, when an Estate fell to him by the Death of a Relation, worth no less than an Hundred Talents, turn'd it all into ready Money, and kept this Sum by him on purpose to accommodate Men of Merit who were his Friends; to whom he made no manner of Scruple of lending it without Interest; and even to serve some of them, suffer'd his own Land, and Slaves, to be mortgaged to the Publick Treasury. *Cimon of Athens* (whom we shall mention hereafter) went still farther; and innumerable Instances might be produced of the same Kind.

Assemblies, against the flagrant Corruption and barefaced Partialities of the present Times, would hardly be content to keep an *Horse*, a *Wench*, or a *Footman*, less than he now does, upon Condition to have every Grievance redress'd which he daily complains of with so much Reason and Eloquence: We seem to be somewhat in the same Condition in which the *Romans* are represented, when they were losing all that *Power* and *Reputation*, which the Virtues of their Ancestors had acquired. *Illo Tempore duo Maxima Mala Reipublicæ incubuerunt Luxuries & Avaritia.* At that Time (says the Historian) the Commonwealth labour'd under the two greatest Plagues it could be infested with, LUXURY and AVARICE. The Observation is fine: *Avarice* is always an *Insatiable Thirst* after Money; but then there are two Sorts of *Avarice*: The first hoards up whatever it can seize upon; The latter makes it flow through all the Canals which *Luxury* presents: This Sort of *Avarice* is therefore very consistent, even with the highest *Luxury*. Either of these Kinds of *Avarice*, is infinitely prejudicial to the Publick:

To determine which is *most* so, might, perhaps, be pretty difficult.

I am far from undertaking so romantick a Task, as to persuade my Country-Men to have the same Opinion of *Money* with the ancient *Spartans*; yet I must confess, that I would, if possible, convince them, that the following Maxim is as true and as demonstrable, as that *Two and Two make Four*, viz. *That there neither is, nor ever was such a Thing in Nature, as for the same Man to be Honest and Avaritious*. Whatever therefore may be a Man's *Pretensions*, In whatever *Shape* he may appear, with whatever *Solemnity* in his *Looks*, or *Formality* in his *Habit*, I would humbly advise them carefully to examine whether the *Plague-Spot* of *Avarice* be, or be not, to be discovered upon him. If it be, they may rest fully assured, that there is no *Work* so *dirty*, no *Job* so *shameful*, but such a Man is always ready to undertake, provided only he may be *paid* for his *Pains*, and tolerably assured he shall not be discovered. Whenever the Heart of a Man is possessed with this insatiable

Thirst

Thirst after Money, he will certainly turn a deaf Ear to the loudest Calls of *Honour, Conscience* or *Compassion*, if ever they offer to thwart what he imagines to be for his Interest.

I beg leave, once again, to repeat, that I am very far from even recommending to my Country-Men, that high *Contempt for Wealth* which the antient *Spartans* shewed. We are a *Maritime Power*, and a *Trading Nation*; if we will but make use of those Advantages which Providence has given us over our Neighbours, it is demonstrable, that we must become Masters of a considerable Part of the Wealth of the World: I could heartily wish we were in Possession of a much larger Share of it than we are at present; and yet at the same time, methinks, I would have an *Englishman* scorn to do any thing excessively Wicked and Base, even tho' he might get an Estate by it; I would likewise have him, whenever he became Master of a Plentiful Fortune, make such an Use of it, as might convince the World he was not altogether unworthy of the Blessing.

But though I do not think that the *Spartan* Contempt of Wealth is either suitable to the Genius of the present Age, or entirely agreeable to the Situation and Constitution of *Great Britain*, There is another Part of the *Spartan* Policy which no Government, no Nation upon Earth, that would be either *Great* or *Happy*, can too closely imitate: I will even venture to add, that every Government must be either *Powerful* or *Contemptible*, *Fixed* or *Fluctuating*, *Scandalous* or *Honourable*, in proportion as it either approaches nearer, or is more distant from this Part of the *Spartan* Constitution: What I mean, is the infinite Care which the *Spartans* took of the *Education of their Youth*, of diligently observing which way their *Genius* and *Talents* lay, and afterwards of putting them into such Posts, *Civil* or *Military*, without any manner of *Respect* to their *Birth* or *Quality*, as might make those *Talents*, which *Providence* had given them, most serviceable to the Commonwealth.

The *Spartan* Education was deservedly famous throughout all *Greece*, and even in other Countries ; \* The Manner of it was thus : In *Sparta* no Boy was educated after the particular *Fancy* of his own Parents, nor was their Partiality suffer'd to determine what their Son was *fit* for : Every Male Child in *Sparta* was looked upon as a

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\* *Pyrrhus*, at the Request of *Cleonymus* King of *Sparta*, a weak Prince whom the *Lacedemonians* had deposed, for endeavouring to make himself Absolute, marched against *Sparta*. He promised *Cleonymus* that he would restore him to his Throne ; but in reality resolved to conquer all *Peloponnesus* for himself ; and fell into that Country at the Head of a powerful Army : The *Lacedemonian* Ambassadors, who were sent to know what he meant by this Proceeding, found him at *Megalopolis* ; *Pyrrhus* assured them that he only appeared in *Greece*, followed by his Army, as a Champion in the *Cause of Liberty* ; that he was determined to restore all those Cities to their Freedom which *Antigonus* had enslaved ; but that he was so far from designing any Injury to the *Lacedemonians*, that if he might be permitted, he resolved to send his own Sons to *Sparta*, being very sensible that if they might receive their Education in that *Illustrious School*, and be brought up in the Manners and Discipline of the *Lacedemonians*, they would have an infinite Advantage over all other Kings, be a real Blessing to their Subjects, and consequently become the most renowned Princes in all the World. The *Spartans* knowing themselves to be justly Famous in all Countries for the Education of their Youth, could not but believe him ; nor would be persuaded that *Pyrrhus* wa: their

Treasure which the Publick had an undoubted Right to; That no great Genius might be lost, either for want of being observed, or properly assisted, all Boys were educated alike. Some of the wisest and oldest Men in the City made it their particular Business almost daily to visit the Publick Schools, and to observe what Progress every Youth made in his *Learning* and his *Exercises*. The Boys were sometimes drawn out Naked before them, that they might the better judge of the Proportion of their Limbs, and Strength of their Bodies: They often raised Disputes and Quarrels purposely among them, and set them together by the Ears, that they

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Enemy, till he had actually enter'd *Laconia*, and began to plunder and waste all the Country: By this Piece of scandalous Dissimulation, which still remains the most notorious Blemish in the whole Character of this great General, and for which all his own *Wit* could not afterwards find a *playable Excuse*, he found the City of *Sparta* in so defenceless a Condition, that all *Greece* looked upon it as lost.

The *Lacedemonian* Education was in so high Repute even at *Athens*, that *Phocion* himself, and several other *Athenians*, sent their Sons to *Sparta* to reform their *Manners*; and *Simonides* gives the City of *Sparta* the remarkable Epithet of *Δαμασιπεργία*, *The Tamer of Men.*

might

might see in what manner, whether with his *Tongue* or his *Fist*, by *Stratagem* or by *Force*, every Boy would defend his *Property*, or maintain his *Pretensions*. From his particular Manner of Behaviour, they formed a Judgment in what sort of Post he might be most serviceable to the *Publick*, and when he came to be a *Man*, he was disposed of accordingly. My Readers must collect from this Account, that at *Sparta*, *Real Merit*, and the proper *Qualifications* to discharge a Post, were the only *effectual* Means to obtain one; and it is very certain, that among this *wise* and *virtuous* People, nothing would have appear'd so *monstrous* or so *heinous* a Crime against the Commonwealth, as for any *Man* to have attempted to *buy* or to have exposed to *Sale* a Post in the Government.

It would have been thought no less *Scandalous*, if any *Spartan*, who was really qualified for a Post *himself*, should have made use of that Interest which his Station gave him, to introduce all his *own Relations*, however *worthless*, into Places of *Power* or *Profit*; since such a Proceeding would

have rendered them not only a *constant Charge*, but a *constant Disgrace* to the Commonwealth. \*

It was this most excellent Discipline, and a strict Observation of the Rule above-mentioned, which made the *Spartan Government* last almost *Eight hundred*

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\* Every private *Spartan* seemed to be so thoroughly sensible, how *necessary* it was for the *Good of his Country*, that all *Places* should be given to those Men who had the most Merit, that one *Pedaretus* having lost a *Post of Honour*, for which he was a Candidate, and into which *three Hundred* other *Spartans* were chose, return'd to his House transported with Joy; and being ask'd by some of his Neighbours what was the Occasion of so much unusual *Gayety*, *I am infinitely pleased* (says he) *to find that there are in Sparta at least three Hundred better Men than myself*. The *Spartan's Notion* in this Particular, was the same with that of *Pittacus*, one of the Seven Wise Men of *Greece*, who, at the celebrated Entertainment made by *Periander*, where all those *Sages* were present; being ask'd *What Form of Government he conceived to be the best and most perfect?* replied, *That Government in which all Posts of Honour or Profit are given to Men of the most Merit, and such as are best qualified to discharge them*. This Answer of the Sage's was highly applauded at that time by the illustrious Company, and thought truly worthy to be transmitted to *Posterity*.

Years\* from the Time it was first founded by *Lycurgus*, Five hundred Years of which time the *Lacedemonians* were the Masters of *Greece*; Nothing could withstand the Force of their Arms, and the City of *Sparta* fell at last, only because she extended her Conquests too far, and grasped at a little too much: § She fell like *Rome* strictly speaking, *Suis viribus, by her own Weight and Strength*; it being often true with relation to a State, that *Ipso nocet moles*; yet when the *Achæans* and *Megalopolitans*,

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\* Cicero in one of his Orations, observes, that the *Lacedemonians* were the only People in the World, who had kept their *Discipline* and their *Laws* sacred and unalterable for so great a Number of Years. *Soli toto orbe terrarum Septingentos jam annos amplius unis moribus & nunquam mutatis legibus vivunt.* Cic.

§ The *Lacedemonians* in this Respect, acted contrary to the Policy of *Lycurgus*. It is evident, that though the Design of that Lawgiver was to render *Sparta* invincible, yet that he never intended she should make Conquests upon the Continent of *Greece*, and much less that she should send her Victorious Armies into the *Persian* Empire. *Lycurgus* was so much afraid of having the *Spartan* Manners corrupted by the Vices and Luxury of their Neighbours, that though *Laconia* was very well situated for Shipping, he expressly forbad his *Spartans* to have any Trade or Commerce with other Nations. They observed this Injunction for some Ages; nor ever aimed at acquiring the *Dominion of the Sea*, till after the Defeat of *Xerxes*.

her implacable Enemies, had at last got her down, so much were they apprehensive, that should she retain her own *Laws* and *Manners*, she would soon recover her former *Strength*; so greatly did they fear her Youth, who were growing up and educated under the old *Spartan Discipline*, that they could never think themselves secure, till they had obliged her, by downright *Force*, utterly to abolish the *Laws of Lycurgus*, and to educate her Youth like other *Grecian Cities*: This was called, with great Propriety, *Cutting the Sinews of the Spartan Commonwealth*; and is justly branded by all Writers, as one of the most cruel and inhuman Actions we find any where recorded in History: And surely nothing can be a greater Proof of the Excellency of *Lycurgus's Institutions*, or of the sound Policy upon which his *Laws* were founded, than this Dread which the neighbouring States had conceived of *Sparta*, while she kept up to that Discipline which he had established: A Discipline so highly admired by the Antients, that *Plato*, *Diogenes*, *Zeno*, *Plutarch*, and, in a Word, almost every Author who has wrote upon

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Government, has looked upon that Form of it established by *Lycurgus*, to have been the most perfect and compleat ; and has accordingly taken it for his own Model : But as I design in these Sheets to give my Readers some Idea of the *Spartan* Constitution, it would not be fair, if I should conceal from them the strongest Objections that have been made to several Parts of it.

Two Things have been more especially censured in the Institutions of *Lycurgus*, and I shall say something to each of them. Several learned Divines have fallen upon him with great Severity, for having strictly commanded, by one of his Laws, That all Children who were born with any visible *Defect* or *Deformity* in their Limbs, should be immediately flung out into the Fields, or put to Death.

*Lycurgus* was of Opinion, that such Children would never be fit for Soldiers, and that the *Weakness* and *Deformity* of their *Bodies* would soon extend to their *Minds*, and create in them so much *Envy* and *Ill Will* towards the rest of their Fellow-Citizens, as would make them ready to commit

mit the most *base* and *villainous Actions*. He was likewise apprehensive, that deformed Persons might propagate a Race like *themselves*; and that the very Sight of such Persons, must be highly Prejudicial to pregnant Women, and frequently occasion *monstrous Births*. For these Reasons *Lycurgus* ordered such Infants to be slain, whose Lives he imagined, if they were suffered to grow up, would be *burthen-some to themselves* and *hurtful to the Commonwealth*. I am not sure, that a Law of this kind was in Force in any other Part of *Greece* besides *Sparta*; and yet *Dryden*, who was pretty well versed in the Customs of the Antients, seems to intimate, that there was something like it in *Thebes*; when in his *OEdipus* he makes *Eurydice* say to *Creon*, even though he was Brother to the Queen,

*Nature herself shrunk back when thou wert born,  
And cry'd, The Work's not mine — — —  
The Midwife stood aghast; and when she saw  
Thy Mountain-Back, and thy distorted Legs,  
Thy Face it self,  
Half minted with the Royal Stamp of Man,  
And half o'ercome with Beast, stood doubting long,  
Whose*

*Whose Right in thee were more :  
And knew not if To burn thee in the Flames,  
Were not the holier Work.*

The same Lady tells the same *Creon* soon after, that the *Deformity of his Person* was but a Type of the *Deformity of his Mind*; and even that the *first* of them was occasioned by the *latter*.

*Thy crooked Mind within, hunch'd out thy Back,  
And wander'd in thy Limbs :*

After these Words, she immediately adds,

— *To thy own Kind  
Make Love, if thou canst find it in the World ;  
And seek not from our Sex to raise an Off-spring,  
Which mingled with the rest would tempt the Gods  
To cut off Human Kind.*

*Homer*, after having described the *Deformity of Thersites's Person*, seems to make a burning and *implacable Envy* towards every thing that was *Excellent* or *Praise-worthy*, to be a sort of natural *Consequence* of such his *Deformity*.

*Dryden*

Dryden describes *Creon* above-mentioned, (and I am afraid he copies too *truly* after *Nature* in this Particular) full of the *blackest Thoughts*; conscious that he is a *Villain*, and yet still persisting in his *Wickedness*: He says in one of his Soliloquies,

— 'Tis true, I am  
What she has told me, an Offence to Sight :  
My Body opens inward to my Soul,  
And lets in Day, to make my Vices seen,  
By all discerning Eyes.

In another Scene, the same *Creon* vainly wishes, that he could breath his *Soul* into another Man's *Body*, till at last in a Fit of *Rage* and *Despair*, he runs into downright *Blasphemy* and *Prophaneness*, and tells the Gods, that since they did not think fit to form *him* after *their Image*, he wishes he could make *them* after his *own*. What Notion we of this Island have of *deformed Persons*, appears pretty plainly by our common *English Proverb*, *Beware of him whom God hath marked*; and it is very observable, that because *Richard the Third* was a *Monster of Ingratitude and Perfidiousness*,

diouſneſſ, the common People fancied he must have had a *Hump-Back*, and accordingly diſtinguiſhed him by the Title of *Crook-Back'd Richard*, though for any thing that appears in History, his Maſteſty was as ſtraiſt in the Shoulders as any of his Subjects. It muſt however be confeſſ'd, that there has been now and then, an Inſtance of a Great and Generouſ Soul, which though it has been ſhut up in a *wretched* and *deformed* Carcaſſ, has retained a *Benevolence* towards the *human Species*. *Æſop* is a remarkable Example of what I am ſaying: The *whole Life* of that moſt ex- cellent Person, notwithstanding his *mean Birth* and *frightful Figure*, was employ'd for the *Benefit* and *Service* of Mankind. We are told, that he repaid the *Cruelties* of his Maſter *Xanthus* with the moſt *faith- ful* and *beneficial Services*; That he pre- ſerved his Native Country *Samos*, when *Crœſus* had determined to deſtroy it; and laſtly, that he was ſo far from thirſting after a mean *Revenge* for the Injuries he received, that when *Eunus* his adopted Son, had, with the blackeſt Ingratitude, made an Attempt upon his Life, *Æſop* not

not only forgave the intended Parricide, but preserved the Person who would have murdered him, from the Punishment he must otherwise have suffered, and took him again into his Favour. I ought not however, perhaps, to omit mentioning, that Dr. *Bently* has endeavoured to prove, that *Æsop's Deformity* is a meer *Fiction*, and that this divine Writer was really a *comely* and a *clean-limb'd* Man : Whatever *Æsop* was in his *Person*, *Lycurgus's* Notion of *deform'd People* is generally *true*, and is most certainly founded upon Nature. The best-humour'd Man alive can hardly imagine, how *severe* a *Trial* it would be of his *good Nature*, if his *Soul* was cased in a *Body*, whose *Deformity* attracted all Eyes, distinguished him from the *Rest* of his *Species*, and debarred him from some of the most *elegant Pleasures*, and *greatest Satisfactions* in human Life.

Another thing which several *great* and *good* Men have found fault with in the *Institutions of Lycurgus*, is, His Indulgence to both Sexes, in *Cases of Love*, and the *Liberties* he allowed the *Spartan Ladies* :

*Aristotle*

*Aristotle* in his *Politicks*, when he is examining the *Spartan Constitution*, seems to condemn their Law-giver upon this Head.

*Lycurgus*, who had nothing so much in View, as to have the Commonwealth of *Sparta* composed of Men of *healthy Bodies* and *sound Intellects*, look'd upon it as a sort of Crime against the *State*, to prevent two accomplish'd Persons of different Sexes, who happened to like one another, from coming together ; because he imagined the Commerce between them would probably produce such a Child, as might one Day be an *Honour* and a *Credit* to the *City of Sparta*. *Horace* seems to be pretty much of this Opinion, when he says,

*Fortes Creactur fortibus & bonis:  
Est in juvencis est in equis patrum  
Virtus: nec imbellem feroce  
Progernerant aquilæ columbam.*

*Aristotle* himself, if I am not much mistaken, says somewhere, 'Εξ αγαθῶν αγαθοί ; and acknowledges in another Part of his Writings, that The best Education

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can do nothing more than Polish and Improve what the *Greeks* called *εὐγένειαν*; that is, *A good natural Disposition*. A Man of Merit in *Sparta*, if he saw a married Woman, who made a strong Impression upon his Fancy, in plain Terms, if he fell in Love with her, made no Scruple to desire her Husband's Leave to beget a Child upon her, and such a Favour was seldom refused. However odd this may seem to some of my Readers, I must acquaint them, that the great *Cato* made no Difficulty to grant this very Favour to his Friend *Hortensius*, who happened to take a liking to his Wife *Martia*, though *Cato* himself loved her with great Tenderness: But this Affair was carried still farther among the *Lacedemonians*: If a Lady in *Sparta* found she had married a disagreeable Fellow, she usually fixed her Affections upon some other Man, who was Master of those Accomplishments her Husband wanted, and took care to let her Favourite know the good Opinion she had of him. The Commerce between them was esteem'd no manner of Disgrace, either to the Lady herself, or the Person she had chosen to be

be her Gallant. I cannot illustrate this better, than by the following Story.

*Chelidonis*, a young Lady of great *Quality*, *Beauty* and *Merit*, was married to *Cleonymus* King of *Sparta*, a weak and a *disagreeable* Man: The young Lady finding her Husband incapable of such a Passion, as she could not help thinking she was capable of kindling in a Man of Sense; soon fixed her Affections upon a Person named *Acrotatus*, who was generally thought as accomplished a Man as most in *Sparta*. The Intreague between these Lovers, who thought themselves perfectly happy in each other, was no manner of Secret. In the mean time *Cleonymus* was weak enough to form a Design, to subvert the *Spartan* Constitution, and make himself an *Absolute* Prince: I have already described him to be a Person not very proper for such an Enterprise. The *Lacedæmonians* soon discovered what he was aiming at, and immediately deposed and banished him: In this Extremity he fled to *Pyrrhus* King of *Macedon*, and implored his Assistance, for the Recovery of his Throne. *Pyrrhus*, with a

secret Intent, to get *Laconia* for himself, marched to *Sparta*, accompanied by the banished King, and at the Head of a powerful Army. He found means to come unexpectedly upon the *Lacedæmonians*, while they imagined him their Friend, and were not prepared to resist him. He therefore thought himself very sure of taking *Sparta* by Assault, a Place which had no Walls,\* and which the neighbouring Cities already look'd upon as lost ; *Acrotatus*, who commanded a small Body of 300 *Spartans*, fought now not only for his *Country*, but his *Mistress*, and gave signal Proofs of great *Presence of Mind*, a most *dexterous Conduct*, and an *undaunted Courage*. When the Assault was over, and the *Macedonians* repulsed, we are expressly told, That the *Spartan Ladies* ( though not without a small Spice of *Envy*) universally Congratulated *Chelidonis* upon the excellent *Judgment* she had shewn in her *Choice of a Lover* ; while the old Men followed *Acro-*

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\* *Lycurgus* would suffer no Walls to be built round *Sparta* ; but declared, That the *Valour* of her Inhabitants should make her *Impregnable*.

*tatus through the Streets of Sparta, crying out, Go on, Acrotatus, enjoy Chelidonis, and get fine Boys for the Service of thy Country.*

Such were the Sentiments of the *Lacedæmonians*: *Adultery* was a Crime unknown among them, upon which Head an antient Author tells this Story.

A *Lacedæmonian*, whose Affairs obliged him to go out of *Greece*, fell into some Company who were very inquisitive about the Constitution of *Sparta*; one of them among other Particulars, desired to know *What was the Punishment for Adulterers?* The *Spartan* readily replied, *They had no Adulterers in Lacedæmon*; but upon the Querist's persisting to know in what Manner he believed an Adulterer would be punished, that should happen to be detected? *I believe*, says the *Spartan*, *our Senate* \* *would order the Criminal to give the*

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\* The *Lacedæmonian* Senate consisted of Twenty-eight *noble Spartans*, elected by the *People*. The *Ephori* or *chief Magistrates* in *Sparta*, who had a particular

the Person he had injured, a Bull with a Neck long enough to stand upon the Continent of Greece, and drink out of a River in Peloponnesus : Upon the Inquisitive Gentleman's seeming to apprehend, that it was absolutely impossible to find such a Bull ; Sir, says the Spartan, *Give me leave to tell you, that 'tis full as impossible to find an Adulterer in Lacedæmon.*

I must not, however, suffer my Readers to imagine, there was any such thing as

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Eye upon the Conduct of their Kings, were *five* in Number, and always chosen out of the *Body* of the *People*. The *Power* of these Magistrates was very *Great* ; but then they were chosen *Annually*. We see therefore, that in *Sparta* there was the *Power* of their *Kings*, the *Power* of their *Nobles* or *Senate*, and the *Power* of the *People* or *Ephori*. In like manner, among the *Romans*, there was the *Power* of the *Consuls*, of the *Senate* and of the *Tribunes of the People* : And our own *Constitution* consists of our *King*, our *Lords*, and our *Commons*. I think I might assert, without being Partial to my Country, that if a few *Faults* were *mended* in the *British Constitution*, or rather, if a few *Corruptions* and *Abuses* which have crept into it were rooted out, it would be the *best* and *happiest* *Constitution* of any in *Europe*. It is very remarkable that *Aristotle*, in his *Treatise of Politicks*, wrote above *Two thousand Years* since, after having considered the *Advantages* and *Inconveniencies* of a *Monarchy*, an *Aristocracy*, and a *Democracy*, seems to think the *best Constitution* might be formed out of these *three* Sorts of Government wisely mixed together.

open Lewdness tolerated in Sparta. There was not a City in the World, where there were so few Signs of it. By the Institution of *Lycurgus*, it was reckoned *Scandalous*, and was a Sort of *Crime*, even in a married Couple, not to contrive their Meetings, when the Affair was *Love*, in such a Manner, that not one of the Family, among whom they lived, might suspect their being together. *Dryden*, in allusion to this *Custom*, makes his *Spartan Hero* give the following Account of his begetting his favourite Son, who was put to Death while a Boy, but is every where described as a meer *Prodigy*, both for his *Parts* and his *Courage*.

— — — *Stealing Home,*

*According to my Country's modest Use,*  
*I found my Ægiatis just undrest,*  
*Wearying the Gods with Vows for my Return :*  
*My Transport was so great, I could not stay ;*  
*But kiss'd, and took her trembling in my Arms,*  
*And, in that Fury of my Love, I stamp'd*  
*This Image of my Soul.*

These Lines are the more beautiful, as they are warranted by History. We are

told, that *Cleomenes*, in the Height of his Successes, used sometimes to *steal Incognito* to *Sparta*, and pay a short Visit to his beloved *Ægiatis*.

*Lycurgus*, as I have observed, found out a Method, to give the *Air* of a constant *Intreague* even to a *married State*: He imagined, that by laying Difficulties in their Way, and preventing married People from enjoying each others Company as often as they pleased, he should be able to keep *Desire* constantly *alive*, and make them always continue in the *happy State of Lovers*; That when they could contrive a Meeting, they would come together with that *Ardour* and *Spirit*, which he conceived was absolutely necessary to form a Child worthy to be a Member of the *Spartan Republick*: If we may judge from the Figure the *Lacedæmonians* made in *Greece*, this great Law-giver was not altogether mistaken in his Politicks. What I have here mentioned, is perhaps, an higher *Refinement* upon the *Passion of Love*, and a greater Piece of *Politeness*, than any Custom that obtains at present in any Part of

of Europe. It is certain, that great Numbers of married People become *contemptible* in the Eyes of the *World*, and *disagreeable* to *each other*, from those constant and shocking *Familiarities* which every Day pass between them. I believe I may venture to add, that their mutual Affections are oftener destroyed by such *little Offences* against *Decency* and *good Manners*, as they know not how to tell one another of, than by any *flagrant* or *notorious Faults*; and I should enlarge a little more upon this Point, if I had not already handled it in the 506th Paper of the 7th Volume of the *SPECTATORS.*\*

I cannot, however, dismiss the Subject without taking Notice how extreamly *Delicate* and *Circumspect* the *Grecians* in general were upon the Article of *Marriage*. When a Man of Quality in *Greece* had a Daughter to dispose of, he expected that those who pretended to her, should come and live with him for some considerable

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\* See Page 124 in the 7th Volume of the small Edition of the *Spectators.*

time, that he might not take their *good* or *ill* Qualities upon *Trust*, or merely from common Fame; but might himself be a Witness of their manner of Life, and enabled by narrowly observing their Conduct upon all Occurrences, to form a right Judgment of their several Abilities and Inclinations: In pursuance of this Custom, *Clisthenes*, who reigned in *Sicyon*, and was the richest Prince in all *Greece*, having an only Daughter to dispose of, had thirteen *Grecian* Gentlemen who resided at his Court for a Twelvemonth together, and every one of whom had Hopes of becoming his Son-in-Law. There was one among them, who in all *Tournaments* and *Bodily Exercises*, had so much the Advantage over all his Rivals, that *Clisthenes* had secretly determined to give him his Daughter; but happening to see him one Day in a Dance do something which called his *good Breeding*, and consequently his *good Sense* in question, *Clisthenes* immediately altered his Resolution, and gave his Daughter to *Megacles of Athens*, who was looked upon to be one of the most accomplished Men in a City, celebrated for her *Politeness*, through

throughout all *Greece*, and allowed to be the great Nursery of *Arts and Sciences*. As to the Twelve unsuccessful *Lovers*, *Clithenes* made every one of them such a Present at his Departure, that he had no Reason to complain of losing his Time while he resided at the Court of that *generous Prince*.

After all I may seem to have insinuated in favour of *Lycurgus*, for having commanded that all Infants born with any *bodily Defect*, should be put to Death ; and for his having given an *Uncommon Indulgence* to both Sexes in *Cases of Love* ; I shall readily allow, that tho' his Notions on these two Points may be agreeable to *Human Policy*, they are not intirely conformable to the *Doctrine of Christianity* : But then, tho' I hope I have all the Respect which I ought to have for the *Precepts of the Gospel*, I cannot help saying, that 'tis methinks, a little hard the Institutions of *Lycurgus* should be either approved or condemned, as they do or do not agree with a Law, which was not Promulgated till above Nine hundred Years after the Decease of

of this Illustrious Patriot : A Man who had so evidently the *Honour* and *Good* of his *Country* at Heart, and was so far from consulting his own *Private Interest*, that he refused to accept of the *Crown* of *Lacedæmon*, though it was several times offered to him by the unanimous Consent of the *Spartans*; and tho' he was pressed to take it in a very *particular* Manner, by the young Widow of their deceased King *Polydectes*.

What I must confess seems to me most blameable in the Discipline of the *Spartans*, is their Cruelty towards the poor *Heliotæ* (under which Name they comprehended all their Slaves) and which I will not shock my good-natur'd Readers with an Account of. The *Spartans* chief Pretence for treating these Wretches with so much Barbarity, was, that they were very *Numerous*, and might otherwise *Revolt*. It is certain, that some Authors have attributed the Treatment these *Heliotæ* met with, to the Institutions of *Lycurgus*; but it is as certain, that others of equal Authority assure us, there was nothing like it known in *Lacedæmon*

*dæmon* 'till many Years after the Death of this great Law-giver.

Having said enough of those Things in the *Spartan* Constitution, which seem most liable to Exception, I beg leave to return to the Consideration of that *Maxim*, which I am humbly of Opinion ought to be observ'd in every well-govern'd State; and to the Observance of which the *Spartans* seemed chiefly to owe all their Greatness, *viz.* *That every Post of Honour or Profit in the Commonwealth, ought to be made the Reward of real Merit.*

If any Modern Politician should take it into his Head that this Maxim, however Excellent in it self, cannot possibly be observed in so large and populous a Kingdom as *Great Britain*; I beg leave to inform such a Politician, that at this very Time, this glorious Maxim is most strictly follow'd and observ'd in the *Largest*, the most *Populous*, and the *best Govern'd Empire* in all the World: I mean in *China*.

The Extent of this Empire, the Number of its Inhabitants, the Beauty and Largeness of its Cities, and its prodigious Commerce (according to the Testimony of several Authors of the first Class, and of those learned Men who have long resided there as Missionaries) are almost incredible.

The famous *Vossius*, in his Book *Variarum Considerationum*, after having made several Guesses, founded upon Historical Facts, at the Extent of old *Rome*, and the Number of its Inhabitants, proceeds to calculate the Number of Inhabitants in most Countries. He gives to *Spain* two Millions of People; to *France* five Millions; to *Great Britain* and *Ireland* two Millions, and to the Low Countries the like Number.

He proceeds afterwards, to make a Guess at the Number of Inhabitants in *China*, and is of Opinion, that when the *Tartars* broke through their famous Wall, and enter'd that Empire, it must have contain'd no less than One hundred and Seventy Millions

Millions of Inhabitants : That their Capital City had Twenty Millions, without including the Suburbs ; but that taking in the Suburbs, it contained more Inhabitants than all *Europe*.

Though *Vossius*'s Book was publish'd at *London* in the Year 1685, and tho' *Time* and some *particular Accidents*, have vastly increased the Number of our People since that Year, yet I think it may be proved, that this learned Man's Calculation of the Number of our Inhabitants, even at that Time, was much too low.

If we suppose *one* Person out of *Three and Thirty* to die, within the Term of a Year, which is according to the common Calculation, I believe it will be found, that we have at present within the Bills of Mortality, above Nine hundred Thousand Souls.

As *Vossius*'s Calculation was therefore too low with respect to us, it may very possibly have been too high with respect to the *Chinese* ; yet according to the most modest

modest Accounts, the Empire of *China* has two Cities, *viz.* *Nankin* and *Pekin*, one of which is four Times, and the other three Times as big as *London*. It has besides, One hundred and Fifty Cities, which the *Chinese* call *First-rate Cities*, every one of which is at least as big as the City of *Orleans* in *France*. The Wall which a *Chinese* Emperor built to prevent the Incursions of the *Tartars*, makes a Figure even in the Map of the World: It is computed to be at least Fifteen hundred Leagues in Length; it has Towers built at proper Distances, for the Reception of those Soldiers that guard it, and was generally garrison'd with a Million of Men.

The full Extent of this prodigious Empire is not perhaps as yet exactly known; but though I cannot come up to Monsieur *Vossius*, I do verily believe, that the Empire of *China* doth contain more Inhabitants than all *Europe* put together.

*Vossius* thinks that they very much excel the European Nations in *Arts* and *Sciences*, and that though we have learn'd several valuable

valuable Things from them, yet that if they would but be good-natur'd and communicative, they could teach us things which are still more valuable, and of which we are wholly ignorant.

It is certain they had *Printing*, *Gunpowder*, and *Guns* among them long before those things were known in *Europe*. A sick Man in *China*, when he sends for a Physician, never tells him his Distemper; the Doctor, after having felt his Patient's Pulse for about half an Hour together, in a Manner not practis'd in *Europe*, seldom fails of guessing at his Malady, and telling him every particular *Disorder* that he has felt: It has, I think, been a little disputed, whether the *Chinese* Doctors are altogether as dexterous at *curing* a Distemper, as at *finding* it out.

But the great Point in which all Authors, who have wrote of the *Chinese*, do generally agree that they excel all other People in, is the *Art of Government*: Even the *French* Writers, notwithstanding their natural Love for their own Country, notwithstanding

withstanding the Incense which they are constantly offering to their *Grand Monarch*, are oblig'd to own Ingenuously, that the *Chinese* do excel all other Nations in the *Art of Government*, and can never sufficiently admire those Political Maxims collected, methodized and commented upon by the great *Confucius*.

Whether the *French* would own thus much or no, the Thing indeed speaks it self. The *Chinese* Government has certainly subsisted upon those excellent Principles it was at first founded, about Four thousand Five hundred Years. The *Chinese* themselves say much longer.

One of the most remarkable Things in the *Chinese* Government, is this: They have no such thing as any *Honours* or *Titles* that are *Hereditary*; they esteem it the highest Absurdity to pay any Respect to a worthless Fellow, because his Father was a Man of Merit. His degenerating from a worthy *Ancestor*, makes him, in the Eyes of the *Chinese*, more contemptible than if he had been born of the meanest *Mechanicks*.

chanick. No Man in *China* can be made a *Mandarine*, that is, a *Gentleman*, or is capable of any *Post* in the *Government*, who is not really a Man of *Parts* and *Learning*.

The Mandarines are chosen once a Year at the Capital City of *China*. Those who imagine they are qualified, and offer themselves to be elected into this *Order*, which is truly *Honourable*, are examined in so strict a Manner as would not be credited, if so many Authors did not agree in their Account of it.

Every Candidate is put into a Cell by himself; this Cell is carefully guarded Day and Night by a Number of Soldiers, so that he can have no Assistance from any Friend in those Pieces he is order'd to compose. It is expected that he should shew himself a Master of the Mandarin Language, of the *Chinese* History, and of the Writings of *Confucius*. It is likewise expected, that he should be able to draw up any Instrument or Act of State; in the writing and wording of which the *Chinese* are extreamly *correct*.

The Pieces he composes, to prove himself a Master of these several Parts of Learning, are fairly and impartially examined by a select Number of Mandarines, at the Head of whom the *Emperor* himself always presides; and the Candidate is either *rejected* or *received* into the Number of Mandarines, as he is found to be *qualified*.

The *Language* which the Mandarines speak, and must be Masters of, differs from the common *Chinese*, and is much more *Elegant* and *Expressive*. The Mandarines are distinguished by their Habit from all other Persons; and lastly, from the most deserving of this Body, who are all Men of Parts and Learning, the Emperor chuses those whom he puts into the most considerable Employments Civil or Military. Out of these Mandarines, he chuses Governors for the *Provinces* in his Empire, which are much *larger* than most *Kingdoms* in *Europe*.

Having shewn that *Real Merit* is the only *Qualification* for a *Post* in *China*; I beg leave to add, that *England* has always made a Figure in *Europe*, and been more or less *Considerable*, in proportion as this Maxim was *more or less* observed by her Princes.

The Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* is beyond all dispute, the most *shining Part* of the *British History*; but what *Englishman* is there, who when he hears the Names of \* *Rawleigh, Walsingham, Sidney, Cecil, Bacon, and Hatton*; of *Howard, Drake, Hawkins and Forbisher*; of *Mountjoy, Essex, Willoughby and Hunsdon*; of *Throgmorton, Wotton, Randolph, Pickering, Dale, Fletcher, Norris and Killigrew*; with several others who might be added to this *Illustrious List*; I say, what *Englishman* is

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\* I believe this short *List* of some of Queen *Elizabeth's Statesmen, Admirals, Generals, and Envoys*, cannot be match'd in the Reign of any other *English Monarch*; and must sufficiently convince any Person of the excellent *Judgment* and uncommon *Penetration* of that most renowned and most beloved Princess.

there, who when he hears these Names, can be at all surprized, that his Country was so happy at Home under the Administration of this excellent Queen ? That her Fleets and Armies were Victorious ? That in all her foreign Treaties and Negotiations, she was too hard for other Princes ? or, that during her Reign, the *British Trade* was so vastly *improved* in all its several *Branches* ?

The Person who, after Queen *Elizabeth*, overcame the greatest Difficulties, and whose Actions are the most surprizing of any mentioned in the *English History*, is *Oliver Cromwell*.

It is certain, that *Cromwell* stuck at no *Wickedness* to arrive at *Power* : But then it is as certain, that when he was possessed of it, he *used it Nobly*. Few Men have ever shewn a more ardent Zeal for the *Honour* and *Reputation* of their *Country*, or a greater Disregard for the private Interest of their *own Family*. I never yet met with any History that says what became of his Wife, though she certainly survived him ; and 'tis well known that he left

left his Children but very *moderate* Fortunes.

This extraordinary Man, after having subdued *Ireland* and *Scotland*, assumed the supreme Power over Three Kingdoms. He immediately made himself *dreaded* and *courted* by all the States in *Europe*: He reduced *Holland*, *Portugal* and *Denmark* to make *Peace* with him, on *such Conditions* as he thought fit to *give* them; and *oblig'd* each of those three States to pay him a *great Sum of Money* at the *Conclusion* of their respective *Treaties*. He extended his *Protection* in the most *generous* and *effectual* Manner to the poor *Vaudois*, and the *Protestants* in *France*. He made several *Regulations* at *Home*, which my Lord *Clarendon* is forced to confess, were *worthy* of *better Times*. His taking *Mardyke* and *Dunkirk*, made him absolutely Master of both Sides of the Channel, and, in *Effect*, removed *France* to a *convenient Distance* from *England*. His scouring the Seas of *Pirates*, forcing the *Algerines* to restore all the *Prizes* they had taken, and burning all the *Men of War* that lay in the *Ports* of

*Tunis*, secured our *Trade*, and made our Merchant Ships *respected* in every Part of the *Mediterranean* : His destroying the whole *Spanish* Plate-Fleet of an inestimable Value at *Santa-Cruz*, rendered the Name of an *English* Squadron terrible in the most distant Parts of the World ; while the Citizens of *London* had the Pleasure to see the *Spanish* Bullion, to the Value of several *Millions*, carried in Carts to the *Tower*, \* in order to be coined.

Even the most unsuccessful of all his Expeditions was of no small Advantage

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\* This Action at *Santa-Cruz*, gave occasion to that celebrated Poem compos'd by Mr. *Waller* (who was both a *Friend* and a *Relation* of the Protector's) which begins,

*Now for some Ages, had the Pride of Spain  
Made the Sun shine on half the World in vain ;*

At the Conclusion of this Poem, Mr. *Waller* very artfully exhorts the People (who were highly pleas'd with the late Action) to make the *Protector* their *King* ; a Title which 'tis probable he was well assured *Cromwell* had a mind to assume.

*His conqu'ring Head has no more Room for Bays ;  
Then let it be, as the glad Nation prays :  
Let the rich Ore forthwith be melted down,  
And the State fix'd, by making him a Crown :  
With Ermin clad, and Purple, let him hold  
A Royal Scepter, made of Spanish Gold.*

to *England*; had *Pen* and *Venables* followed their *Orders*, the *Spaniards* had certainly been drove out of *Hispaniola* and *Cuba*. The *Protector* sent both his *Admiral* and his *General* to the *Tower* as soon as they came *Home*, for not acting as he had directed; and yet in this very *Expedition* the *English* Nation acquired *Jamaica*, the most *valuable* of all their *Colonies*, and which may prove of infinite *Service* to them, should they ever happen to quarrel with *Spain*.

If we consider that *Cromwell* did all these things in a Reign but of Five Years Four Months and Fourteen Days, while the *Royal Party*, the *Presbyterians* and *Commonwealths-Men*, were all conspiring against him at *Home*, and while there was a *Prince Abroad* who wanted neither *Sense* nor *Courage*, and had the *Hereditary Right* to the *Crown* of *England* in him; I say, if we consider all these Circumstances, the *short* Reign of *Cromwell* stands in a very fair Light.

Mr. Arch-Deacon *Echard*, though it is pretty evident he is no great Friend of

the Protector's, yet when all these glorious Actions stare him full in the Face, cannot help crying out, *His publick Character is all over WONDERFUL and AMAZING*: And yet I think, that another Historian has let us pretty well into the real Source of all these great Actions and uncommon Successes: He tells us in his Character of *Cromwell*, That *No Man was ever better served, nor took more Pains to be so*; that *If he came to hear of a Man fit for his Purpose, though ever so obscure, he sent for him and employ'd him; suiting the Employment to the Person, and not the Person to the Employment*; and that *upon this Maxim in his Government, depended in a great measure his Success*.

The Arch-Deacon might have abated some Part of his *Wonder and Amazement*, if he had but remembered what he had himself before told us of the Protector; viz. That *No Man sooner discover'd the Talents of those he conversed with*; and that *There was not one Man in all England, that was singular in any Art or Faculty, that was concealed from him*. If Mr. Arch-Deacon had

had seriously reflected how great a *Character* he has here given the Protector in a few *Words*; and how much a Prince may do, who will but give himself the trouble to know such of his Subjects as have *extra-ordinary Abilities*, and to employ their several *Talents* for his own *Honour* and the *Service* of his People; I say, if the Arch-Deacon had but duly considered how much may be done by observing this *one Maxim*, he would have found that *Cromwell's Actions*, great as they are, might have been performed without his contracting a *personal Friendship* with the *\* Devil*.

If we reflect upon the Characters of those great Men who composed Queen *Elizabeth's Ministry*, who by their *Councils*, *Fortitude*, or *Negotiations*, acquir'd for their *Country* so many *solid and real Advantages*; how much must it raise our *In-*

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\* Mr. Arch-Deacon, in his *History of England*, has given us a very surprizing Account, of an Interview between *Cromwell* and the *Devil* in a Wood; of which it seems Colonel *Lindsey* was an Eye-witness.

*dignation*, should we ever see some of the most *worthless* of Mankind, pretend to rank themselves with those *real Patriots*! And yet I am afraid we have known some Persons, *since the Days of Queen Elizabeth*, who, without any other Merit, than receiving *Projects for New Taxes*, and laying the most *grievous Loads* upon their miserable Fellow-Subjects, have had the *Affurance to expect and take* from their unhappy *Country*, more *immense Sums* and *extravagant Honours*, than the *best and greatest* of Queen *Elizabeth's Ministers* ever pretended to.

But how much must it provoke any *thinking Man*, when he reflects that some of these *Modern Statesmen* have been so far from understanding, even that *meanest Part of Politicks*, to which they have wholly apply'd themselves, that it is easily demonstrable how the very *same Sums* might have been raised for *Publick Service*, with the same Advantage to the *Crown*; but with much more *Ease* to the *Country Gentleman*, the *Merchant* and the *Farmer*!

It is very possible, that *Posterity* may not think either *Cleomenes* or *me* worth their Notice; I am sensible that most People would even *now* imagine a *Treatise*, extreamly trifling, which should be wholly wrote upon any *personal Controversy* between us two. In order therefore to enliven so *dry* a *Subject*, I have already flung some Things into these Sheets which may, perhaps, bear being read by People, who can have no manner of Concern for what becomes of either of us. I have already endeavoured to give them some Notion of the Policy and Sentiments of the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*: They will likewise find in the following Letter, some Considerations upon two Subjects of the utmost Importance, *viz.* upon the *LOVE OF OUR COUNTRY*, and upon *The LIBERTY OF THE PRESS*.

Every Native of *Holland*, as well the *Women* as the *Men*, by a *Principle* and *National Affection*, which can never be too much admired or praised, glory in doing their

their best for *Father-Landt*; \* an endearing and noble *Expression*, by which they mean their *Country*; and I could wish that we would vouchsafe to imitate our Neighbours the *Dutch*, at least in this Particular.

I have endeavoured, from the Example of the *Lacedæmonian Ladies*, to shew even the *fair Sex*, that it is both their *Duty* and their *Interest*, to have a hearty *Love for their Country*: I would, methinks, have the most beautiful Part of our Species strongly inspir'd with this *Passion*, as I am very sensible it would contribute not a little to the Welfare and Prosperity of *Great Britain*. The World need not be told at this Time of Day, how great is the *Power of Beauty*. Perhaps a natural Reason might be given, why it has generally had the *strongest Influence* upon the *greatest Men*: Perhaps those very *Animal Spirits*, which by their *Fineness* and *Quantity*, are the immediate Cause of *Wisdom*,

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\* The *Dutch Word*, *Father-Landt*, is more elegant and expressive than the *Latin Word Patria*, from whence it was probably taken; and either of them is much more significant, than our *English Word Country*.

*Wit* and *Courage*, do naturally and strongly incline those Men, in whom they reside, to that *soft Passion*, which few of them have escaped, and which in it self is no Fault. One of the best and most judicious Writers this Nation ever produced, has put the following Lines into the Mouth of a Man who was both an *Hero* and a *Philosopher*.

*When Love's well tim'd, 'tis not a Fault to love ;  
The Strong, the Brave, the Virtuous, and the Wise,  
Sink in the soft Captivity together.*

Addison's *Cato*.

In a Word, History is full of Examples, where the Fate of Kingdoms and Empires have been determined by bright Eyes ; and where Men have done either the greatest or meanest Actions, in obedience to the Commands of their Mistresses. The Beauty of my fair Country-Women, has already rendred them the Wonder and Admiration of all the *European* Nations ; how much would it add to their Charms, if we could see their Breasts glowing with a fervent

fervent Love for their Country, and hear the most generous Sentiments proceed from the fairest Lips! They will find in the following Sheets, that the State of *Lacedæmon* was formerly preserved by the Gallantry of the *Spartan* Ladies.

\* *Rome* was no less indebted to the Virtue of her Matrons; That City, which became the Mistress of the World, had been utterly destroy'd, and laid in Ashes, nor had the Names of *Cato*, *Brutus*, *Scipio* and *Pompey* been ever heard of, had not *Rome* herself been preserved by the *Virtue* and *Resolution* of *Roman Ladies*: The Story is so much to the Honour of their Sex, that I cannot possibly forbear relating it.

\* *Caius Marcius Coriolanus* was of a Patrician Family in *Rome*, and had given several

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\* I have endeavoured to place this beautiful Story in its full Light: It is mentioned by every Author who has wrote of the *Roman* Affairs at the Time it happen'd; the Authors who have been most particular in their Account of it, are *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, *Livy* and *Plutarch*; each of these, has told this Story his own Way, and given us the *Speech* of *Coriolanus*'s Mother. There

several Instances of an invincible Courage in the Service of his Country. Soon after he was of an Age to bear Arms, a War broke out between the *Romans* and the *Volscians*: The former under the Command of *Cominius* their Consul, invested *Corioli*, the chief City of their Enemies. The *Volscians* had at that Time a good Army in the Field, so that the *Roman* Consul, to avoid being besieged in his Trenches, was obliged to divide his Forces: He marched himself at the Head of a strong Body to fight the *Volscian* Army, and left the Remainder of his Forces under the Command of *Titus Larcius*, a brave *Roman*,

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There cannot be a more exquisite Pleasure, to a Person of a refined Taste, than to observe the different Manner after which these three Authors have given us the Story of *Coriolanus*; and if a Man was to make a Comparison between these three great Historians, and to consider each of their *Beauties* and *Defects*, he could not perhaps do it better, than by nicely observing the Manner in which each of them has told this Story, and what *Circumstances* each of them has thought most proper to affect his Readers, or to be flung into *Shades*. The three Historians last mentioned, differ in several Particulars, which are not at all material to my present Design: I have taken from each of them whatever I thought proper, and added some Circumstances from other Writers.

to carry on the Siege. The Garrison of *Corioli* despising now the small Number of their Enemies, made a brisk Salley: At first they carried all before them, till coming to that Quarter, where *Caius Marcius* was posted, they found themselves stopt in their Carreer. *Marcius* charging them at the Head of a small Party, not only cut in Pieces such of the *Volscians* as had already enter'd the *Roman* Trenches, but forced their whole Body to retreat. Not content to see those Men now retire, who were so lately Conquerors, he fell upon their Rear and drove them to the very Gates of their City. Those who had follow'd him thus far, now fell back from the Pursuit, unable to support that multitude of Darts which was shower'd down upon them from the Walls; when *Marcius*, who was remarkable for a strong and clear Voice, (which *Homer* justly reckons amongst the Accomplishments of a General) turning about to his Men, cried out to them with all his force, *That Fortune had set open the Gates of Corioli, not to shelter the Vanquish'd, but to receive their Conquerors.* He had no sooner said this, but he flung him-

himself in at the Gate amidst the *Volscians*, and bore along with the Crowd till they all together enter'd the City: When he now look'd about him, he found he had been followed but by very few of his Friends; making therefore a Virtue of a Necessity, while the whole Garrison of the Town fell upon him, he performed such Actions as are hardly credible: In a Word, he made good the Passage which led towards the chief Gate of the City, till *Titus Larcius* brought up the rest of the *Romans*, and took the Place.

Thus was *Corioli* surprized, almost by the single Courage of *Marcius*; which the *Roman Army* were so sensible of, that they unanimously voted him a Tenth Part of all the Spoil.\* *Marcius* could by no Means

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\* When *Corioli* was taken, most of the Soldiers were intent upon plundering the City, as is usual in such Cases: *Marcius* was highly offended at their Behaviour, for he reflected that the Consul and their Fellow Citizens might, perhaps, at that very Instant, be engaged with the *Volscian Army*. He prevail'd at last with a few generous Men to quit their Share of the Plunder; and putting himself at the Head of these, marched with the utmost Speed to the Consul's Army, beseech-

Means be persuaded to accept of this Present : He declared he had done nothing more than what he owed to his Country ; and that he would accept of no Reward

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beseeching the Gods as he went along, that he might arrive before the Fight was begun. He was fortunate enough to come up with the Army as it stood in Battle array, and while the *Romans* were making their *Verbal Wills* in the Hearing of three or four of their Fellow Soldiers, as they generally did just before an Engagement.

*Marcius* acquainted them that *Corioli* was taken, and this unexpected News was received with the utmost Joy, and a general Shout of the whole Army : He then earnestly beseeched the Consul that he might have the *Post of Honour* in the Engagement that was going to begin ; and be placed directly opposite to the *Antiates*, who were reckoned the bravest Soldiers among the *Volscians*. *Cominius* seeing him already covered all over with Blood and Sweat, would have persuaded him rather to rest and refresh himself, than to expose his Person to new Dangers : *Marcius* reply'd, *That Conquerors should never be weary* ; and the Consul was at last obliged to gratify him. The two Armies joined in Battle, where *Marcius* gave fresh Proofs of the highest personal *Courage* ; and contributed not a little to that Victory which the *Romans* obtained over their Enemies : Both *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, and *Plutarch*, give a full and particular Account of this second Action of *Marcius's* ; which rightly considered in all its Circumstances, is more glorious than the *First* ; notwithstanding which, *Livy* passes it over in Silence : I must own I have often thought, that *Livy* could not persuade himself to speak too well of a Man, who appear'd afterwards at the Head of a *Volscian* Army against his Country ; and though such *Partiality* is hardly to be justified in an Historian, 'tis perfectly agreeable to the *Roman Way of Thinking*.

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to the Prejudice of the *Publick*, or his *Fellow Soldiers*.

*Cominius* the Consul, equally charmed with his *Courage* and *Generosity*, turning to the Army, *I see*, says he, *Fellow Soldiers*, that there is no *Way* of forcing our designed *Present* upon *Marcius*; but let us at least give him one *thing*, which is so suitable to the *Service* he has done, that he cannot *reject* it. Let us pass a *Vote*, that from hence-forward his *Name* shall be *Coriolanus*, unless you think that what he has this *Day* performed, is already more than sufficient to give him an *undoubted Right* to that *Title*. This *Proposal* of the Consul's was received and confirmed with the loudest *Acclamations* of the Army, and the *Name* of *Marcius* was immediately lost in that of *Coriolanus*.\*

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\* *Eutropius* having probably heard that the *City* of *Corioli* was taken by *Marcius* (who had from thence the *Name* of *Coriolanus*) makes a *Mistake*, and calls him *Dux Romanorum, The General of the Romans*; whereas it is certain that *Marcius* was at that *Time* only an *Inferior Officer*.

Some time after this, a Dispute arose at *Rome*, \* upon which the City was divided: *Coriolanus* was of the same Opinion with the Minority. He not only gave his Vote agreeable to his Sentiments, but *spoke* in the Senate-House, with great Force and Freedom upon this Occasion. The Party he oppos'd were so provoked at his Behaviour, that with much ado, and a great deal of *unfair Management*, they got a Decree passed for his being banished: As soon as the Sentence was declared, *Coriolanus* returning Home, embraced his Mother *Volumnia*, and his Wife *Virgilia*, a Lady of great Beauty and Virtue: While these two were all in Tears and so oppressed with Grief, that they could hardly speak to him, *Coriolanus* (having recommended to their Care his two Infant Children, the Eldest of which was but Nine Years old) hastened to one of the City Gates, where a great Number of the most Eminent Citizens of *Rome*

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\* It would have made the Story too long to have entered into the Detail of this Affair.

attended him : His Heart was too full of Rage and Resentment, to take a formal Leave of these his Friends. He left the City without speaking to any of them; fully determined to revenge himself, if possible, upon his ungrateful Country.

In pursuance of this Resolution, he offered his Service to the *Volscians*, who not only received him with open Arms; but elected him their General.

*Coriolanus* soon persuaded them to break the Truce they had lately made with the *Romans*, and marched at the Head of their Army to the City of *Circæum*, a *Roman* Colony: He obliged this Place to surrender at *Discretion*, and driving out all the *Romans*, delivered it up to the *Volscians*: From hence he fell into the Country of the *Latins*, and took by Assault *Tolerium*, *Labicum* and *Pedum*: *Bola* made a gallant Resistance, repulsed the *Volscians* at their first Assault, and killed a great Number of their Men: *Coriolanus* was not then present; but hearing of the Disgrace of his Army, flew immediately to their

Assistance ; he placed himself at their Head, and leading them on in Person to a second Assault, carried the Place Sword in Hand. To shew other Cities what they must expect, if they made an obstinate Defence, he ordered *Bola* to be immediately burnt, and gave the Plunder of it to his Soldiers. Nothing now withstood the Rapidity of his Conquests : The City of *Corioli* flung open her Gates at the Approach of a General, who had taken her once before. He likewise re-took *Satricum*, *Longula* and *Postula* ; and having made himself Master of *Trebia*, *Ditellia*, and several other Places, he sat down before *Lavinium*, the first City which *Aeneas* built in *Italy*, and which lay but twelve Miles from *Rome*.

These several Successes acquired *Coriolanus* a prodigious Reputation through all the States of *Italy*, who saw with infinite Surprise, that one Man had no sooner changed Sides, than the Vanquished Nation became the Victors,

The People of *Rome* had hitherto supported all their Losses with great Constancy and Resolution; but when they received the News that *Lavinium* was besieged, (the City from whence they derived their *Original*; and in which the *Gods of their Fathers* were deposited) their Courage began to sink: They earnestly implored the Senate to repeal the Sentence of Banishment against *Coriolanus*. The Question therefore was put in the Senate-House, Whether the Decree should be repealed? but it was carried in the *Negative*. \*

*Coriolanus* received the News, as he lay before *Lavinium*; and looking upon this Vote of the Senate's to be a fresh Affront, he determined to end the War at once, by the Destruction of *Rome* itself: Leaving

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\* It is not easy to say, what could make the Senate pass so extraordinary a Vote at this Time. *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* ingenuously owns, that he is at a Loss how to account for it, though he makes three Conjectures: *Plutarch* likewise offers three several Reasons; but I confess there is not one of them all, which appears to me, of sufficient Weight to justify the Prudence of a *Roman Senate*.

therefore a Body of his Troops before *Lavinium*\* to continue the Blockade of that Place, he marched at the Head of his Victorious Army directly to *Rome*, and encamped before the City. The Sight of *Coriolanus*'s Ensigns produced so great a Consternation in *Rome*, that the Senate, now sensible of their late Error, came in one and all to the Opinion of the People. It was therefore unanimously agreed to send Ambassadors to *Coriolanus*, with an Offer to repeal the Decree for his Banishment, and to desire a Peace with the *Volsicians* upon reasonable Terms. *Coriolanus* called a Council of War, in whose Presence he received the *Roman* Ambassadors with an insupportable Arrogance: §

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\* *Livy* says, that he actually took *Lavinium*; *Plutarch* says, that he *intirely* raised the Siege of that Place, and marched to *Rome* with his whole Army; but I have chose to follow *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, whose Account seems to me more probable than either of the former; and more agreeable to the Character which *Livy* himself gives of *Marcius*, when he was a young Man at the Siege of *Corioli*. *Livy* says, he was even at that time, *Adolescens & Concilio, & Manu promptus*.

§ The Ambassadors were *M. Minutius, Posthumius, Cominius, Sp. Lartius, P. Pinærius* and *Q. Sulpicius*; all these were what the *Romans* called *Viri Consulares*, that is, *Persons who had been Consuls*.

When they had delivered their Embassy, he put them in mind of their shameful Ingratitude towards himself, which he set forth in the bitterest Words, and last of all proposed a Peace upon such Terms, as made Death itself more eligible, to a People jealous of their Honour and Reputation. Upon the Receipt of this Answer, it was resolved at *Rome*, to send him a second Embassy: The Senate took care that the Ambassadors themselves should be chosen out of his nearest Relations, and most intimate Acquaintance, in hopes that such Persons would meet with a kind Reception at their first Interview. The Event proved quite otherwise, *Coriolanus* received this second Embassy, which was delivered to him in the most humble Terms, with as much Haughtiness as the former, and immediately dismissed the Ambassadors with this Answer, That *The Romans must expect Peace upon no other Conditions than those which he had at first proposed, which if they refused to accept, he would endeavour to convince them that he had not lost his*

*his Courage since his Banishment.\* The Senate had now recourse to the meanest Artifice they had ever made use of. They passed a Decree, that the whole Order of their Priests, with such whose Office it was to initiate Men into the most Sacred Mysteries, or had the Care and Custody of the most Holy Things, or were skilled in any kind of Divination, should all dress themselves in those Habits in which they officiated in their several Functions; that they should go in a Solemn Procession to *Coriolanus*, and beseech him to have Mercy upon his Native Country. It was conceived that the Sight of those Persons and Things, for which his Education, when a Child, had taught him to have the utmost *Respect*, might bend his haughty Mind, and induce him to lay aside some Part of his Resentment. The *Volscian* Army was struck with a Sort of Religious Awe, at the Appearance of this Solemn and Venerable Procession: Their General was the only Man upon whom it made no Impression: His*

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\* *Livy's* Words are somewhat stronger, *Adnisurum ut appareat exilio sibi irritatos non fractos animos esse.*

Pride indeed was evidently delighted, to see that now he was no longer addressed to as a *Man*, but supplicated as an offended *Deity*. He remained, however, fix'd in his first Resolutions, and the Sacred Troop were obliged to return to *Rome*, deplored the Fate of their unhappy Country. Upon their Arrival, the whole City was filled with Terror and Consternation; as they despair'd of being able to defend themselves by their Arms, nothing but Disorder and Confusion were every where visible: The Women ran frightened up and down the Streets, the old Men crowded to the Temples, and wearied the Gods with Tears and Supplications.

In this dreadful Scituation of Affairs, the Ladies of the best Quality were devoutly kneeling about the Altar of *Jupiter Capitolinus*; among these was *Valeria*, Sister to the great *Publicola*: Her own Virtues, and the Memory of her illustrious Brother, lately deceased, had rendered her extreamly dear to the People of *Rome*. As this Lady was reflecting on the impending Destruction of the City, it occurred

curred to her Thoughts, that the Mother and Wife of *Coriolanus* might be of some Service to their Country in this great *Crisis*. She communicated her own Sentiments to the rest of the *Roman Ladies*, and causing them to get up from their Devotions, went with them to the House of *Volumnia* the Mother of *Coriolanus*; \* she found *Volumnia* sitting with her Daughter-in-Law, the beautiful *Virgilia*, and with her two Grand-Children upon her Lap; to whom *Valeria*, in the Name of all her Female Companions, addressed herself to this Effect;

*We whom you now see, O Volumnia and Virgilia, are not come by the Command of*

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\* *Livy* seems to doubt whether the *Roman Ladies* waited upon the Mother and Wife of *Coriolanus* by an Order of the Senate, or induced to it by their own Fears; *Id, publicum consilium, an muliebris timor fuerit, parum invenio.* *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, and *Plutarch* are both very positive that what the Women did, was not by Order of the Senate, or any Magistrate: *Plutarch* imputes it to the particular Inspiration of *Jupiter Capitolinus*; and this Thought is very worthy a *Devout Heathen*: Without mentioning *Plutarch's* Superstition too strongly, I have chose in this Part of the Story to follow his Account, as it appears to me the most natural, and is certainly most for the Honour of the *Roman Ladies*.

the Senate, or by an Order of the Consuls: We come to you as Women unto Women, or rather as we hope by the particular Direction of Jupiter himself, who, moved to Compassion by our Prayers, inspired us with the Thought of visiting you in a Body. We come therefore, led by that God who has hitherto protected the City of Rome, to request that of you in which our own and the common Welfare is equally concerned. If you grant what we desire, your Fame in future Ages will even exceed that of the Sabine Daughters, who rushing into the Battle amidst those Showers of Darts which threaten'd their Lives, obliged their Fathers and their Husbands to sheath their Swords; and from a State of mortal Enmity, to become Friends and Allies. Vouchsafe to place yourselves at our Head, to lead us to the Camp of the Volscians, and to intreat their General to think that he has at last sufficiently punished Rome for the Injuries he has received: Vouchsafe at least, to do your Country so much Justice, as to tell Coriolanus, that notwithstanding all the Mischiefs and Calamities which he has brought upon her, she has never offer'd the least Violence to your Persons,

Persons, nor amidst all her Resentments, ever entertained the least Thoughts to your Prejudice; and that, lastly, she restores you into his Hands, even at this Time, when she is convinced that from him she is to expect no Mercy.

This Pathetick Speech of *Valeria's* was strongly seconded by all the Female Votaries who accompanied her. *Volumnia*, after some Pause, made them this Answer.

Besides those Calamities which I and *Virgilia* share in common with our Country, there are other Domestick Afflictions, which are peculiar to ourselves. We have beheld the utter Destruction of *Coriolanus's* Fame and Virtue: We have seen him do what must intirely eclipse the Glory of all his former Actions. How much rather should we hear he was in the Camp of the Volscians as their Prisoner than their General! But the most sensible Affliction we feel at present, is to find that the Affairs of the Commonwealth are in so low, so desperate a Condition, as to want the Assistance of two weak Women:

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How can we hope that Coriolanus has any Affection left for us, when we see that he has none for his Country! which we are well assured was once much dearer to him than either his Mother, his Wife, or his Children! I say not this, to decline doing any thing which you imagine may be for the Service of Rome; make what use you please of me and my Daughter; lead us to this inexorable Man: We can at least dye for our Country, though we have not Interest sufficient to preserve it.

Volumnia having spoke thus, took her Daughter-in-Law by the Hand, and bidding her take her Children with her, put herself at the Head of the *Roman* Ladies; Thus accompanied, she went directly towards the Camp of the *Volscians*. A Sight so moving, made some Impression on their very Enemies: The *Volscian* Soldiers of their own accord fell back, and opening their Ranks, suffered the beautiful Troop to pass through them: *Coriolanus* was at that time seated upon his Tribunal, with the chief Officers of his Army standing about him, to whom he was giving the necessary

necessary Directions for their attacking the City. He was extreamly surprized to see this female Party advancing towards him ; but when they drew nearer, and he perceived that his own Wife and his Mother were at the Head of the Company, he was scarce Master of those Emotions which so unexpected a Sight produced within him : He found himself obliged to call up all his Manhood to his Assistance, and to resolve more firmly than ever, to be deaf to all Intreaties. The Ladies still advanced, till they came to the Foot of his Tribunal : *Coriolanus* not able to endure that his Mother and his Wife should stand looking up at him, while he was seated in so much State above them, descended hastily, and first saluting his Mother, embraced her for a long time ; he then ran to his Wife, and catching her in his Arms, could not refrain, in spight of all his Manhood, from mingling his own Tears with hers : He last of all embraced his two Children, with all the Tenderness of a fond Father. *Volumnia* was well enough pleased to observe the Transports of her Son, and suffered him for some time to indulge himself

self in the pleasing violence of his present Passions: At last she gave him to understand, that she had something to impart to him. *Coriolanus* at these Words, like a Man awakened from a pleasing Dream, immediately recollect'd himself, and order'd the *Volscian* Council to be called in. *Volumnia* was a little shocked at this Behaviour, and abashed at the Sight of so many *Volscians*, all Men of the first Quality: She was in hopes to have spoke to her Son *alone*; but finding that was not to be expected, her Concern for *Rome* overcame at last every other Consideration. With the Dignity therefore of a *Roman* Matron, and the Resolution of a Person determined either to *save* her Country or *perish* with it, she addressed herself to *Coriolanus* in the following Words;

*That Alteration which you cannot but observe in your Wife and your Mother, since you saw us last, is of itself sufficient to convince you, under what a Load of Grief we have supported Life; and how much we have daily bemoaned your Banishment and Absence: Our seeing you again, which we*

once imagined was the greatest Blessing the Gods could have bestowed, is become an Addition to our Misery. Volumnia sees her Son, and Virgilia her Husband planting his Batteries against the Walls of Rome: We are even deprived of that Relief from Prayer, which the most wretched find under all their Misfortunes. We know not what Petition to prefer to the Gods; since to pray that Rome may be Victorious, is no longer consistent with your Preservation: Know therefore, that I am determined not to wait the Event of a War, which must end either in the Destruction of my Country or my Son; and that I will never behold either a Day of Triumph for your Overthrow, or you insulting amidst the Ashes of Rome. If nothing can prevent your beating down the Walls of that City, which contains your Household Gods, your Wife, and your Children, know, that when you enter the Breach, you shall pass over the wretched Corps of that Woman who brought you into the World; and who will truly deserve to be so treated, for having given Life to the Man who destroyed her Country. Look upon your Wife; Behold those innocent Children, who if you

pursue

pursue your present Enterprize, must either suffer a violent Death, or endure perpetual Slavery. I am not ignorant how much you owe to the Volscians ; but surely the Preservation of Rome is not at all inconsistent with the Safety of that generous Nation : We do not aim at doing them any Prejudice ; we only desire to be delivered ourselves from the Calamities of War : Peace will be a Blessing to the Volscians as well as to us, tho' it must be confess'd, they will acquire more Honour, if at this time they consent to end a War, in which they have hitherto been successful. If two brave Nations, who are at present Enemies, shall by your Mediation become Friends and Allies, what Praises, what Thanks will you not justly merit from either People ! If, on the contrary, you prevent their coming to an Agreement, You alone are answerable for all the Miseries which either of them shall suffer from this Day. The Chance of War is doubtful ; yet this must be the certain Event of that War you are unhappily engaged in : If you conquer, your Name will be infamous to all Posterity, for having destroy'd your Country ; If you are conquer'd, the World will say,

that to gratify your own Revenge, you have ruin'd a Nation who so kindly received and entertain'd you in your Banishment.

*Virgilia* all this while stood by her Mother-in-Law, with one of her Children in each Hand, and though she kept her Eyes fix'd on the Ground, and said nothing, yet by the mute Eloquence of her Tears, sufficiently shew'd how much she was concerned in the Event of their Embassy. It is impossible to express those Agonies *Coriolanus* felt while his Mother was speaking, or all those different Passions which succeeded one another in his Breast: He sometimes look'd upon *Volumnia*, and sometimes on *Virgilia*, while a quick Sense of Shame, of Honour, of Love, of Duty, and of Revenge, took possession of him by turns. He could not bring himself to forget either his own Injuries, or that Fidelity which he owed the *Volscians*, yet his Mother's Words had awaken'd in him some Tenderness for his native Country; nor amidst all his Resentments, could he possibly help reflecting upon the glorious Part which she and his Wife were then acting

acting in the *Volscian* Camp. He return'd no Answer to *Volumnia*, who had now done speaking; but remain'd Silent, with his Eyes on the Ground: It was not, however, difficult for those that were present, to observe how greatly he was disorder'd. *Volumnia*, who had known her Son from an Infant, was not the last Person who perceived how much she had moved him: While he continued Silent, she made her last and utmost Effort in these Words;

*To what must I impute this sullen Silence? am I then too contemptible in the Eyes of my Son, to deserve an Answer? Does it become a brave Man to listen only to his Resentments, and to remember nothing but Injuries? Is there no Obligation from Children to Parents! No Return of Duty and Reverence due from them to the Authors of their Being! Can you, who so severely punish Ingratitude in others, be your self guilty of the same Crime! I grant the Romans injured you, but have you not taken a full Revenge! Have you not already plundered their Cities, ruined their Colonies, and laid all their Territories Waste! They re-*

quited your Services ill ; What Amends have you as yet made me for mine ? I now demand some Recompence for all the Kindness and Affection of a Mother, for all my tender Care of your Infancy : And will you break through the Ties of Nature and Religion, to refuse my first and only Request ? If this be your settled Resolution, I have already lived too long. Let me expire at the Feet of my Son, since I cannot persuade him to save his Country.

Having spoke thus, she threw herself at his Feet ; his Wife, the fair *Virgilia*, and his two Children, follow'd her Example. *Coriolanus* could now hold out no longer ; but cry'd, *O my Mother ! O Virgilia ! to what have you reduced me !* With these Words he raised them from the Ground, and pressing *Volumnia*'s Hand with great Vehemence, *Mother*, says he, *you have gained a Victory fortunate to Rome, but fatal to your Son. I go hence not vanquished by the Romans, but overcome by you and Virgilia.* With this joyful News he sent them back again to *Rome* as they desired, and early the next Morning drew off.

off his Army. When the *Romans* saw that their Enemies were actually dislodged, the Joy and Transport which appeared throughout the whole City is hardly to be described: They immediately flung open all their Temples, appeared themselves crowned with Flowers, and prepared the same Sacrifices for the Gods which they used to offer after their greatest Victories. Amidst this universal Joy, every Man strove to be loudest in their Commendations of the *Ladies* to whom they unanimously confess'd, that they owed the Preservation of themselves and their Country. The Senate immediately assembled, and by way of Acknowledgment, passed a Decree, that *Whatever the Women pleased to ask should be granted*. Upon this Occasion the Moderation of the *Roman Ladies* was extreamly remarkable. Having consulted among themselves, they desired nothing more, but that a Temple might be built and dedicated to *The Fortune of Women*. They offer'd to be at the Expence of this Building themselves, and only desired that the Sacrifices might be paid for out of the Publick Treasury.

The Senate, highly pleased with this fresh Instance of their *Modesty* and *Generosity*, decreed, That The Temple should be built at the Publick Charge, and erected on that very Spot of Ground where *Volumnia* and *Virgilia* had prevailed with *Coriolanus* to draw off his Army : They likewise order'd, That to perpetuate the Memory of so important a Service, A Monument should be erected, with an Inscription upon it to the Honour of the Women : All this could not however prevent the Ladies from making a Purse among themselves for an Image of *Female Fortune*, which was placed in the new Temple, and dedicated to that Goddess.

*Coriolanus* in the mean time led back the *Volscians* to *Antium*, some of whom could not forbear expressing their Resentment, that by the Weakness of their General, they had lost an Opportunity of taking *Rome*, and utterly destroying their ancient Enemies. *Tullus*, a leading Man in the *Volscian* Senate, who had long envyed the Glory of *Coriolanus*, used all his Arts to increase these Murmurs : He required

*Corio-*

*Coriolanus* to lay down his Commission instantly, and give an Account of his Administration. *Coriolanus*, who foresaw he must inevitably perish, if he was once reduced to a private Condition, and *Tullus* should succeed him as General of the Army, answered with great Prudence, That *He would surrender his Commission, whenever it was demanded of him by the Volscian States from whom he received it, and that in the mean time he was very ready to give an Account of his Conduct to the Antiates.* This Proposal appeared too reasonable to be rejected: The People of *Antium* were therefore convened, before whom *Coriolanus* was accused by *Tullus*, and some other popular Orators, of Betraying the Trust that had been reposed in him. *Coriolanus* was not only a Man of *Letters*, but naturally *Eloquent*; his Cause was not so bad, but that much might be said in his Behalf. When his Accusers had done, he rose up, and with an Air that expressed neither too much Confidence, nor too much Dejection, was about to speak and make his Defence. *Tullus* and his Partisans, who observed him not at all disordered,

ordered, began now to fear the Event: They dreaded the Impressions his Eloquence might make upon a Popular Assembly, and therefore cried out, That *A Traitor to their Country ought not to be heard*; At the same time drawing their Daggers, they rushed at once upon him: *Coriolanus* was unarmed, and made no Offer to defend himself; so that covered with Wounds, but without fetching a single Groan, he fell at last in the midst of the Assembly.

It is certain, that though the most considerable Citizens of *Antium*, and the Majority of the Assembly, did not approve of his being thus Assassinated, yet they appeared too passive while the Action was committing: Not a Sword was drawn, or a single Arm lifted up in his Defence. The *Volscian* States were, indeed, dissatisfied that so fair an Opportunity of taking *Rome* was lost; yet when they heard *Coriolanus* was dead, their Pity overcame their Resentments. They now began to reflect, that his very Crime carried its own Excuse in some measure with it; and that though

though he had prevented their taking *Rome*, their Army had never lain before it, had it not been conducted by such a General. They now remembered his Resolution in the Field, and Prudence in Council, his Courage in Battles, and Eloquence in their Senates; that most of the Cities now in their Possession, were taken or recovered by his Conduct. Upon all these Considerations, they determined to give him the greatest Funeral Honours. They laid his Corps upon a most magnificent Bier, and habited in those Robes which he had formerly worn as their General. The Bier was borne upon the Shoulders of the most considerable Men among the *Volscian* States. Before it were carried the Spoils which he had obtained, the Crowns which he had won, and the Plans of all those Cities he had taken. While his Funeral Pile was burning, a great Number of Victims were slain in Honour to his Memory: Lastly, they interred his Ashes, and erected a magnificent Monument over them.

When the News of *Coriolanus's* Death was brought to *Rome*, the Senate gave no Demonstration either of *Joy* or *Concern*. They might probably conceive it beneath the Dignity of a *Roman* Senate, either to insult a dead Enemy, or to shew any Concern for a Man who had appeared in Arms against his Country. The Women could not hear of his Death with the same Indifference; they regarded him at least as a brave, tho' an unfortunate Man; as a Man, who when his Story should be told in future Ages, would stand a remarkable Instance of the *Power* of their Sex; and that neither *Wisdom* nor *Courage* can protect the Heart of Man against the Attacks of *Beauty* and *Virtue*; They therefore desired the Senate's Permission to *Put themselves in Mourning*. The Senate, far from being displeased with their Petition, readily granted their Request. The Ladies wore Mourning for *Coriolanus* *Ten Months*: being the same Time which in those Days they mourned at *Rome*,

*Rome*, for the Death of a Father, a Son, or a Brother. \*

My Country-Women, from this Story which I have extracted for their Service out of several *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, may form to themselves a pretty just Notion of the *Roman* Ladies. They will see in the following Sheets, of what Metal the *Spartan* Women were made: I shall only add on this Head, that one of the great Designs of History, is to ingage us to imitate the Virtues, and to avoid the Vices of those who have lived before us; and that though it is scarce to be supposed, the Ladies of *Great Britain* will ever have an Opportunity of signalizing themselves in so remarkable a Manner as *Volumnia*, *Virgilia* and *Valeria* did, yet that 'tis highly probable, their Power and Influence over particular Men, may be often employ'd for the real Service and Benefit of their Country.

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\* I could not help pursuing my Story thus far, because I think this *last Action* of the *Roman Ladies*, is a very fine Instance of their *Humanity*, their *Politeness*, and their *Good Sense*.

In my Letter to *Cleomenes*, I have dwelt pretty long upon THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS; because I must confess, I take it to be a Subject of the *utmost Importance*; I have endeavoured to shew how reasonable this *Liberty* is in itself, and how beneficial to Mankind in general. How absolutely necessary it is for a Nation who would preserve its *Freedom*, and how far it was made use of at *Rome* and *Athens*, while those two glorious Commonwealths had the least *Shadow* of *Liberty* left among them.

The History of *Pericles*, whose *ill Conduct* occasioned the Destruction of the *Athenian Commonwealth*, contains some Particulars, worthy the Reflection of any Nation who would preserve their *Liberties* and their *Honour*.

Some of my Readers may possibly think it a little unnatural, to mix Antient with Modern History: To which I answer, That the real Advantage of History, is to enable us from the Knowledge of past Trans-

Transactions, to form a right Judgment on present Occurrences. *Machiavel*, both in his *Prince*, and his excellent *Discourses* upon *Livy*, has constantly mingled antient and modern Histories, and made them mutually serve to embellish and illustrate one another. The Danger we should chiefly guard against in reading antient History, is not to be so far dazzled with the great Actions and noble Sentiments of any of the Ancients, as to become Admirers of all the Laws, and of every Part of that Constitution they lived under. Many Accidents, such as The Scituation of a Country, The Natural Genius of the People, The present Condition of its neighbouring States, &c. may make the same Things, which are highly eligible in one State, no less pernicious and destructive in another. It therefore requires the strongest Judgment, in those who read History, and have any Share in the Government of their Country, to determine how far the *Athenians*, the *Lacedæmonians*, and *Romans*, ought to be imitated ; and in what Particulars their Laws, Customs, or Policy, may have been either amended, or wholly chang-

changed for the better, in latter Ages. *Machiavel* has done something like this in his *Art of War*; That great Man, by adding some Parts of the *Roman Discipline*, to other Parts of the Military Discipline which was used in *Italy* in his own Time, has, I think, most evidently demonstrated, that out of these Two, a Third might be formed, much more perfect and compleat than either.

I have often thought that a Comparison between the two famous Institutions of *Solon* and *Lycurgus*, with a fair and impartial Examination in what Parts the one excelled the other, and in what Particulars the *Romans* improved upon both of them, would not only be a *Curious*, but a very *Useful* Work. I had actually gone through a great Part of it, when those Papers, with several others, were most barbarously taken from me; I have however still by me, a *Sketch* of this Design, and if Providence thinks proper to prolong my Days, may, perhaps, once more attempt to execute it. When the *Romans* sent three Ambassadors \*

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\* *Sp. Posthumius, S. Sulpicius and A. Manlius.*

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into *Greece*, to make that Collection of Laws, out of which the Decemvirs afterwards formed their *Twelve Tables*, the Commonwealth of *Athens* was in high Repute: The *Roman* Ambassadors were therefore ordered to go directly to *Athens*: It is extreamly probable, that the Laws which those Ambassadors brought to *Rome* the Year before the Decemvirate, was scarce any thing more than a *Copy of the Laws of Solon*; since we are assured that the *Romans*, for some time after the Decemvirate was abolished, frequently sent a Difficult Cause to be determined in the *Areopagus* at *Athens*. It is however as certain, that when the *Twelve Tables* were composed, a good Part of them was formed upon the Institutions of *Lycurgus*, which happened thus: The Decemvirs were ordered to blend those Laws which were brought out of *Greece*, with the Laws of *Numa Pompilius*, and out of both to form a *compleat Body of Law* for the Use of the *Romans*. *Numa* was a *Sabin*, and we are assured by *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, that the *Sabins* were a Colony of *Spartans*, who retain'd the *Lacedæmonian Customs*, especially in what

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related to War, Frugality, and a laborious Manner of Life, from whence *Horace* calls them the *Rigid Sabines*. But this was not all ; *Pythagoras*, not the *Samian Philosopher*, but a Native of *Sparta*, in his Travels through *Italy*, contracted an intimate Friendship with *Numa*, gave him a full Account of the Institutions of *Lycurgus*, and actually assisted *Numa* himself, when that Prince made Laws for the *Romans*. *Numa*, while he gave out that he was conversing with the Goddess *Egeria*, was really consulting his Friend *Pythagoras* ; by whose Advice he introduced many of the *Spartan* Laws and Customs into the *Roman* Constitution. The *Decemvirs* plainly improved both the Institutions of *Solon* and *Lycurgus* in several Particulars ; And I am fully persuaded, that out of the *Spartan*, the *Athenian*, and the *Roman* Constitution, there might at this Day, be one formed, much more excellent than either of them.

It is equally to be admired and lamented, that we have no Copy of the *Twelve Tables*, containing those *Laws* by which

which *Rome* was governed, which extended themselves, with the *Roman Conquests*, over so great a Part of the World, and which are still the Foundation of the *Civil Law* throughout *Europe*. *Cicero* contemplating these *Tables*, cannot forbear giving them such an *Encomium*, which as *extravagant* as it may appear to some People, was, perhaps, no more than what they really deserved.\*

Though we have lost these *Tables*, I believe it would not be impossible to make a tolerable *Collection* of the *Roman Laws*, from the Writings of several ancient Authors. In those Laws which may be gleaned up in this manner, we cannot

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\*Plurima est in duodecim Tabulis antiquitatis effigies, quod verborum prisca vetustas cognoscitur & actionum quædam genera majorum consuetudinem vitamque declarant. Sive quis civilem scientiam compleat, totam hanc descriptis omnibus Civitatis utilitatibus, ac partibus duodecim Tabulis contineri videbitis; sive quem ista præpotens & gloria Philosofia delectat, dicam audacius, hosce habet fontes omnium disputationum suarum, qui jure civili & legibus continentur. Fremant omnes licet dicam quod Sentio. Bibliothecas, me herculè, omnium Philosoporum unus mihi videtur duodecim Tabularum libellus, si quis legum fontes, & capita viderit, & autoritatis pondere & utilitatis ubertate superare. Cic.

sufficiently admire two Things, *viz.* Their *Brevity* and their *Perspicuity*: But I find I am entering farther into this Subject than I intended.

What is said in the following Sheets, does, I think, naturally enough flow from the *Text* I am then *handling*; or, in other Words, from that *Paragraph* of *Cleomenes's Letter* which I am then *Answering*; yet I must own, I am in no great Pain as to this Point; If the *Matter* I lay before my Readers is but *agreeable* to them, they are rather the more obliged to me for stepping a little *out of the Way* to fetch it in.

As I have already assumed this *Liberty*, I shall make no Scruple to take it for the future; but shall act like a Man who rides out purely for his Diversion, and who if he discovers an agreeable Object, leaves the *Road* he was *in*, and spurs up to take a View of it. I can justify myself in this Practice, if it be necessary, from the Example of several celebrated Authors.

A Man who takes up *Montaign*, and pretends to guess at the *Contents* of any Chapter, from the *Title*, will find himself, generally speaking, extreamly mistaken ; and yet the *Rambles* of this lively old *Gascon*, are, in the Opinion of many People, the greatest *Beauties* in his Writings : 'Tis pretty plain he put *Scaliger* quite out of Breath to follow him, and that the *Learned* and *Methodical Critick* cannot help now and then *envying* the Man he resolves to *Scold* at.

But I should rather chuse to shelter myself in this *Cafe*, under the Protection of two Gentlemen of the present Age ; who, in the Opinion of all good Judges, are allowed to stand in the *first Class* of Writers : I mean the present Earl of *Orrery*, and the late Monsieur *Bayle*.

The *first* of these *two excellent Authors*, in his *Examination of Dr. Bentley's Differ- tations on the Epistles of Phalaris*, con- descends sometimes to ask his Reader's *Pardon* for a *Digression*, which if he had omitted,

omitted, they ought never to have *forgiven* him: By the help of several little *Digressions*, he has flung an infinite deal of *Wit* and *Humour* into a *Controversy*, of itself the least *entertaining*, that a *Man of Sense* could well have been engaged in: His Lordship has so contrived it, that even the *Gay* and *Polite* read a Book with *Pleasure*, in which he was obliged to dispute about *Scasons* and *Anapæstics*; to determine after what Pause a *Trochee* or *Tribrach* might be properly admitted; and to descend at last to *Accents*, *Encliticks*, and *Parapleromatick Particles*.

Monsieur *Bayle*, under the Title of *Several Thoughts upon the Comet which appeared in 1680*, \* has wrote four Volumes in a close *Dutch* Print: In these Books he has discoursed upon a great Variety of Particulars in Religion, History, Politicks, Physicks, Poetry, &c. In a Word, he

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\* *Pensées diverses Ecrites à un Docteur de Sorbonne A l'Occasion de la Comete qui parut au Mois de Decembre 1680.*

has made no manner of Scruple to introduce *any Subject* he had a mind to write upon, however foreign it seemed to the *Title* of his *Book*: The *Excuse* he makes for this manner of Proceeding, serves my Purpose so well, and is so much better than any thing I can say for myself, that I shall take the *Liberty* to borrow it from him.

This learned Writer, after observing how often he went out of his Way, to lay some curious Observation, or Piece of History, before his Readers; *I hope however*, says he, *That my Readers will not be sorry, that they now and then lose the Sight of my Comet for so many Pages together; Nay, I do not know whether this Book may not have the same Fortune with the famous Picture of the Satyr and the Partridge, drawn by Protagenes. The Satyr was what the Painter had chiefly in his View; The Partridge was only flung into the Piece by way of Decoration; and yet the best Judges of Painting, were better pleased with the Picture of the Partridge than that of the Monster.*

I have inserted Cleomenes's Letter Paragraph by Paragraph ; that my Readers might see whether I have, or have not fairly answered whatever this *Illustrious Author* has thought fit to advance : I have always looked upon it to be extreamly mean and low, either to *Missquote* an Adversary's Words, or to represent his *Arguments* in a *false Light* : Of my Notes, some are *Critical* ; the rest are intended for the Use of such Persons as have not been conversant in *History*.

What I have wrote, is most sincerely intended for the Benefit of that *Country*, whose Welfare, by all the Laws of God and *Nature*, I conceive myself obliged to promote to the utmost of my Power and Abilities. Having now lived some Years in the World ; Having conversed familiarly with some of the greatest Men this Age has produced ; Having endeavoured to understand the Constitution of that Country in which I was born, and Made some few Observations *Abroad* ; I am from all these fully convinced, that such

is the happy Scituation of *Great Britain*, that it might easily become one of the *richest* and most *powerful* States in *Europe*. I am likewise convinced, that there is no Occasion for any *refined Policy* to bring this about. That, on the contrary, we need only follow those Maxims which *Nature* plainly points out to us: Nay, what is still more, that Providence has been so very indulgent to this Island, That we must commit the most manifest Errors in Policy, Sin against the Light of Nature, contrive Schemes, and even be *busy* to bring about our own *Destruction*, before we can thoroughly accomplish it.

I am sensible that no Author was ever yet fortunate enough to please all his Readers: I do not doubt, but some People will imagine I have said *too much*, and others, *too little*: I have nothing to say to these; but there is a third Sort, who, though they agree with me in most Points, may very possibly be a little disgusted at some particular Passages: I only beg Leave to assure such, That I endeavour to write

to some *End*. That I thought *twice* before I *wrote*; and that if they will but do me the Favour to think as often before they *Censure*, I do not entirely despair of obtaining their Pardon, for what at first Sight, may, perhaps, displease them.

I have but one thing more to add: Most of my Books and Papers have been taken from me, in a cruel and an illegal Manner: I am under Confinement; disabled from coming at some Authors I would have consulted, and obliged to trust much more to my own Memory than I could have wished. If under these Circumstances, I should have made some little Mistake in any Historical Fact, I humbly trust, from the Candour and Humanity of the *learned World*, that they will not be too severe upon me in such a Case.





A

LETTER

TO

CLEOMENES,

KING of

SPARTA,

FROM

*Eustace Budgell, Esq;*





